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EDITORIALS

Impeachment and the Courts

Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski has asked the Supreme Court to uphold his contention that President Nixon must surrender sixty-four White House tapes which Jaworski considers vital for carrying out the responsibility with which he has been charged—at least *pro forma*—by the President himself. Jaworski is in a hurry, partly because American legal procedures are exasperatingly complex and slow, partly because Mr. Nixon's strategy is one of delay. If he can enmesh the case against him in technicalities, and travel to foreign parts in his "quest for peace," he hopes that boredom and diversion will tip the balance in his favor. In the meantime he can seize on occasions like his Memorial Day address to renew the hackneyed appeal for a strong military posture and woo the Héberts and Stennises—the former he can probably count on to vote against impeachment in the House, while in the Senate, Stennis is a potential member of the Nixon phalanx against removal from office. There is also the hazard that if the impeachment proceedings are not concluded by the end of 1974, the whole affair will have to be renewed in the first session of the 94th Congress. For all these reasons, and others, Jaworski chose to by-pass the Court of Appeals and go directly to the Supreme Court.

The courts are inevitably involved in the Watergate scandals; that is the primary reason for the appointment of a special prosecutor. Impeachment, however, by the plain intent of the Constitution, is a matter between the executive and legislative branches. The courts decide questions of law and so far as possible avoid interfering in political conflicts, as the Supreme Court has declared on a number of occasions. In the area of impeachment, Article I of the Constitution states that the House of Representatives "shall have the sole power of impeachment," while the Senate "shall have the sole power to try all impeachments." The article further specifies the mode of judgment and its limitations, and rules that when the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside.

The Constitution treats the whole matter of impeachment only in a general way—hence the disputed question of what constitutes an impeachable offense. The selection of the Chief Justice as the presiding officer does, in a limited way, bring the judiciary into the trial which follows impeachment. The Chief Justice was evidently selected as most likely to function as an impartial arbiter, while the President of the Senate (the Vice President of the United States) is, at least under modern conditions, a member of the same party as the President. But this choice presents a novel problem. If Chief Justice Burger participates in a decision on Jaworski's suit, he may, one way or the other, be suspected of prior commitment in any subsequent Senate trial.

In anticipation of a trial following impeachment, Chief Justice Burger could refrain from participating in the tapes case, if the Supreme Court undertakes to render a decision. But however he decides, it would seem that the less the courts are involved in the impeachment process itself, the better. Mr. Nixon is not on trial before Judge Sirica, but he may well be on trial before the Senate. If before that occurred, Representative Rodino were to take his problem of spurned subpoenas to the Supreme Court, Mr. Nixon would have a precedent (in the absence of language in the Constitution forbidding him) for taking an impeachment trial decision that went against him to the same body. It would then be the Supreme Court, not the Congress of the United States, that would pass ultimately on his fitness to retain office.

Mr. Rodino is proving himself an imperturbable investigator. He is clearly not eager to make too much of the subpoena showdown—Mr. Nixon's refusal to honor the Judiciary Committee's demands is mere tactics; the heart of the charges against him lie elsewhere. But Mr. Jaworski's attempt to get what he needs through the Supreme Court is another matter. If he cannot do so, it will appear that the President is obstructing the course of justice in cases where he is not immediately concerned, and that does get to the heart of his fitness.

The Prestige Explosion

India's explosion underground of a nuclear device of Nagasaki size qualifies it for membership in the rather exclusive nuclear club—the sixth member to bomb its way in. In this instance, admission was achieved at a heavy price. Canada has suspended further atomic aid under circumstances which imply that India trickily misused previous aid. Other nations which have provided economic aid have also expressed dismay that India, with its problems, should divert resources of this magnitude to achievement of what is at best a dubious prestige success. Of course India, unlike Canada, did not sign the 1968 agreement to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, but the secrecy with which the device was put together and detonated emphasizes that India's intentions were not entirely peaceful. Great power objections are one thing—such powers are inherently hypocritical—but Canada is not in this category and has, in addition, special ties with India. So it does not follow that India can afford to ignore Canada's very legitimate protests.

Since no nation ever detonates an underground nuclear explosion for purely peaceful purposes—for one thing, such explosions invariably stimulate other nations to attempt the same feat—it is legitimate to speculate on the identity of the "threats" which India must sense. Is China, intensely preoccupied with the Soviets, a threat to India? Is Pakistan? Is Bangladesh? Is Russia? It is difficult to see on India's horizon a military menace that is in any way as serious as the twin dangers of poverty and famine. And each time a new member joins the nuclear club the problem of achieving a limitation on nuclear arsenals becomes more complicated. For example, Senator Jackson and others have pointed out that sooner or later Chinese participation in the SALT talks will be necessary. That is not likely to give them a boost. A story from New Delhi in *The New York Times* quoted a European (unnamed) as saying of India's "achievement": "It was a prestige explosion. It was meant to show the world 'we can be advanced too—we are not the sick man of Asia.' "

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Such comments have been brushed aside by Indian spokesmen as being too ridiculous to warrant attention; nevertheless one Indian official, questioned about peasant reaction, said: "It does affect them. A poor man takes pride in a nation's prestige." That may be, but prestige is not nutritious. Nations furnishing economic aid to India should now find means of getting that aid directly to those who need it; otherwise they may find their resources being used to contribute to still another splendid "prestige" folly. But fairness dictates the concession that infatuation with nuclear weapons is not an exclusive Indian aberration; most nations share it, in particular the great powers, but note Canada as an honorable exception.

Jeb's Lost Compass

Addressing Judge Sirica before he was sentenced to a ten-month-to-four-year prison term, Jeb Stuart Magruder explained his conduct: "I was ambitious, but I was not without morals or ethics or ideals. There was in me the same blend of ambition and altruism that I saw in many of my peers. Somewhere between my ambition and my ideals I lost my ethical compass. I found myself on a path that had not been intended for me by my parents or my principles or my own ethical instincts. It has led me to this courtroom."

Magruder is too harsh on himself. He did not lose his ethical compass. He observed the national secular ethic, the ethic of his peers. He landed in Judge Sirica's courtroom because that ethic had become largely irrelevant and also because it was never adequate. Jeb's ethic—the Puritan work ethic—had become grossly distorted over a period of time. It was, and is, an ethic that puts the emphasis on individual, not social achievement. It says in effect that what is good for Jeb Stuart Magruder, measured in terms of dollars and cents acquired by hard work that stops short of outright theft or burglary, is good for the country. A useful ethic, perhaps, in a new and growing society, it is still helpful to groups that are trying to achieve a measure of independence and self-reliance.

But as a national secular ethic it began to produce weirdly erratic behavior patterns as early as the middle 1950s. For such an ethic is corrupted by affluence; it has no defense—it flashes no warning signals—against the rapid acquisition of wealth and riches because, after all, that's the name of the game. The old work ethic becomes bloated into an ethic of success. Even at an earlier period when its harmful potential was less evident it served to advance individual not social interests and often encouraged individual achievement at the expense of society and to its detriment. Compulsive consumerism, waste-spend-borrow-buy economics, the spread of a throwaway culture—these and other phenomena of the post-World War II period are not so much a distortion of the original Puritan ethic as more or less disastrous consequences of the extension of that ethic into a period in which it failed to provide adequate guidelines for individuals or the society.

What Jeb Magruder lacked was a social ethic. The tragedy of these well-groomed, personable, well-educated young Watergate victims, with their nice wives and alert

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children, is not that they lost an ethical compass but that they obeyed a national secular ethic that had gone awry. Magruder does indeed represent "the same blend of ambition and altruism" that he observed in "many" of his peers. Witness the behavior of executives of ITT and the milk cooperatives, and the long list of top corporate officials who sought to buy influence by illegal campaign contributions. Not one of these can point a finger at Magruder. So shed no tears for Jeb's lost ethical compass; it led him to the courtroom because the ethic it represented had become—if it has not always been—incompatible with imperative social needs. In his terms the "blend" of ambition and altruism was wrong; it was about 95 per cent ambition and 5 per cent "altruism."

Unhappy Directors

In the February 2nd issue we commented editorially on "Trouble in the Executive Suites." The trouble began when, in 1973, executives of eight top U.S. corporations were found to have made illegal contributions on behalf of their companies to the gargantuan Nixon campaign of 1972. When they were committed, the infractions seemed safe enough. Since 1940, to be sure, the law banning campaign contributions by corporations doing business with the government, and by their officers, has been particularly severe. Political contributions by corporations in general are prohibited, but violation is only a misdemeanor; in the special case of corporations doing business with the government it ranks as a felony. But although corporation lawyers were aware of the statutes and went to some trouble to cover up such transactions (for instance, the Northrop Corporation of Los Angeles funneled its $150,000 contribution through a Luxembourg bank), neither statute was taken seriously in high-level corporate circles.

The courts were lenient: when Thomas V. Jones, Northrop's board chairman, and Vice President James Allen were hailed before U.S. District Court Chief Judge Daniel Hart in Washington, Jones and the company each was fined $5,000, while Allen got off with $1,000. Judge Hart was influenced by the fact that the law had never been enforced, and it surely would be harsh punishment to send people to jail under these conditions. But Watergate has changed seeming peccadilloes into crimes. That is the meaning of the often-mentioned "new climate." We may expect that henceforth corporations dealing with the government will guard their purses against campaign money raisers. "If ever there comes before me a case on or after this date involving a violation of this statute," said Judge Hart, "most certainly somebody will go to jail."

Nevertheless there has been punishment, both psychological and legal. The operating heads and directors of large companies are not men of humble demeanor; they enjoy the perquisites of office and, with few exceptions, acquire progressively higher opinions of themselves. It is not pleasant for such a man to be castigated in open court, and that is not all there is to it. A hurricane is blowing through the network of company directors, and for those who were caught in the illegal campaign contribution racket, these are sad days. They are not exactly pariahs, but there is a stigma attached to them; no tears are shed when they decide to relinquish directorships. Mr. Allen has gone so far as to resign as a director of his own company. Mr. Jones is giving up all outside directorships—the most honorific kind—including seats in the board rooms of U.S. Steel, Times-Mirror Co., and Wells Fargo & Co. Carnation Company's chairman, H. Everett Olson, refrained from standing for re-election to the board of United California Bank. Harry Heltzer, chairman of Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. (3M) plans no wholesale departures, but has announced that he will not stand for re-election to the board of General Motors, no doubt the brightest jewel in his crown. George A. Spater, chairman and chief executive of American Airlines, resigned as a company officer last September but remained a director; recently he has also joined the ranks of ex-directors. These are typical of about a dozen high-level departures cited by *The Wall Street Journal* (May 10).

Thus the fallout from Watergate has done some good in a sector of the economy heretofore apparently above the law. The point has probably gotten across that it may be inadvisable to defy the law, even when it has been ignored for three decades and seems to be dormant. As in this case, unforeseen events may bring it to life, and high business status may be only partial protection.

The Coal Dealers

In the middle 1960s, as their public pitchmen lured customers into gasoline stations with gifts of free highball glasses, several large oil companies were privately anticipating an energy crisis by seeking, and getting, access to 20 billion tons of coal lying under federal lands in seven Rocky Mountain states—Montana, North Dakota, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico. An extensive report just released by the Council on Economic Priorities, a nonprofit, public interest group, documents a dramatic increase in leasing of public coal lands—at bargain prices—during that period.

The study, written by James Cannon, asserts that the Interior Department, which leases federal land, acquiesced to private corporate interests in turning over large tracts of coal land. More than 80 per cent of the massive coal reserves which lie under the surface of the Rocky Mountain states is owned by the federal government or Indian tribes.

One hundred forty-four individuals and companies hold the 474 leases granted by the government since 1920, the report states. Fifteen of those leaseholders control 70 per cent of the land under lease, and of these, five are oil companies—Continental, Shell, Sun Oil, Gulf, Atlantic Richfield—or subsidiaries of those companies. Furthermore, the fifteen big leaseholders include seven of the fifteen largest coal producers in the country, many of them subsidiaries of oil companies or other energy conglomerates.

Among the leaseholders, "Holding public coal unmined until the price goes up is a common practice," the report states. "Only fifty-two, or 11 per cent of the 474 leases

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are now producing . . . 321 of the leases have never produced a single ton of coal."

Despite criticism of past leasing practices, President Nixon favors an accelerated leasing program. According to the council's report, the President wants 10 million acres a year to be leased by 1975. To Cannon, such an attitude bespeaks panic. "A sudden upsurge in leasing is not the answer. . . . The public should be getting a better return for its coal. . . . The nation should not act in haste or panic, because the leisure to repent will be long indeed." BRUCE JOHANSEN

The Australian Election

Australia's Labour Party Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, is one of the world's most progressive statesmen. With a 9-vote majority in the House of Representatives, his measures were repeatedly blocked in the Senate, where the Liberals, who in Australia are flagrantly illiberal, held control, with the aid of the small, Catholic-oriented, strongly anti-Socialist Democratic Labour Party. So Whitlam went to the country. Numerically, he was not successful—his majority in the House was reduced to one or two votes, although in the Senate his representation rose from 26 to 29. The Liberal and Country Parties, the latter appealing to Australian farmers, won a combined 29 votes, equal to Labour's total. For the misnamed Democratic Labour Party the election was a disaster; it lost all five seats that it held in the pre-election Senate.

Opposition leader Billy Snedden conceded that Whitlam would continue as Prime Minister, but interpreted the result as giving the Labour Party a "yellow light." Whether Whitlam will regard the vote as a signal to go slow remains to be seen. He is an astute but bold politician. He was handicapped by Australia's inflation rate of about 14 per cent annually, about equal to that of the United States. Probably Australia's election laws which, what with compulsory voting and fantastically complex ballots, make exercising the franchise seem a form of punishment, were no help to Whitlam, who would benefit by presentation of simple, clear-cut issues. He was vigorously supported by the novelist Patrick White, Australia's sole Nobel Laureate, who declared that Australia "needed a change to free itself from mentally constipated attitudes. . . . Mr. Whitlam has helped Australians to heave themselves out of that terrible morass which caused so many talented Australians to leave the country. . . ."

The tribute was deserved. Under Whitlam's leadership, Canberra has freed itself from its former status as a ward of London and Washington and has assumed an independent, Asia-minded stance in foreign policy. In domestic politics the caution light surely applies as much to Snedden's obstructionist tactics as to Whitlam's innovative proposals, such as a universal health insurance plan, electoral reforms which would reduce the number of seats allocated to rural areas, and measures to put checks on business and the stock exchange. A reaction to Whitlam's innovative policies was inevitable and all in all he came out of the election with no major damage to his prospects. As long as he remains in power, it is unlikely that Australia's progressive course will be reversed.

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The Drug-Addicted Society

Not heroin or hashish, not even widely distributed over-the-counter drugs such as aspirin, but "ethical" prescription drugs are here in question. The leader in this category is Valium, prescribed as a hypnotic (to induce sleep) and for a wide spectrum of muscular strains, backaches, the handicaps of old age, almost any form of anxiety or stress for which a patient seeks relief and even epileptic and other convulsive seizures. Prescriptions for Valium constitute a large share of the 57 million prescriptions written every year in the United States, and the sole manufacturer, Hoffmann-LaRoche, is also cashing in on Librium, which ranks third among prescription drugs. Both Valium and Librium belong to the class of benzodiazepines, rated as "minor" tranquilizers in medical parlance, as distinguished from the "major" tranquilizers currently in general use in psychiatric practice.

Drug addiction, whether in the Valium-Librium class or the more hazardous barbiturates (and alcohol) is not peculiar to the United States. The percentage of occasional (often habitual) users is higher in several European countries. It seems to be characteristic of Western culture, to such an extent that it is beginning to concern the medical profession. In a May 19th *New York Times* feature story, Lawrence K. Altman refers to an editorial in the April *Journal of the American Medical Association*, advising physicians to exercise more care in prescribing benzodiazepine and similar drugs, which tend to be used as panaceas. The overloaded physician, lacking time to investigate what is really wrong with the patient (and if he does find out, helpless to change the social situation which more often than not is the underlying cause), resorts to a sedative in response to the "do-something" imperative.

Sen. Edward Kennedy has called attention to another possible abuse in prescription practice. More than 12.8 million gifts are showered on health practitioners every year, plus 45 million remainder items. According to Stanley Cohen in *Advertising Age*, detail men comb through supposedly confidential drugstore files to determine which doctors are prescribing their brands, and doctors eventually get something on the order of 2 billion sample pills, which are sometimes swapped for other items of value. Senator Kennedy has apparently touched a raw nerve. The American Medical Association's spokesman at a hearing of the Senator's subcommittee protested that

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gifts to doctors and druggists in return for their use of a firm's products are "unethical." And the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association has announced that it is prepared to support legislation prohibiting gifts of premiums and prizes to doctors, the illicit combing of drugstore records, and the distribution of unsolicited samples. Legislation introduced by the Senator and six other sponsors covers these and additional points.

The abuses to which this proposed legislation are addressed should be corrected, but the real question is whether Congress, preoccupied with Watergate and impeachment, can turn its eyes to the inadequacies and malfunctioning of existing health plans and focus on the need for a comprehensive system of health insurance. Measured against that need, the "gift" of pills is an important but minor issue.

NEW ACTORS ON THE WORLD STAGE

1. The End of Gaullism

CLAUDE BOURDET

Paris

That was the closest shave in the history of French elections. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has been elected as the third President of the Fifth Republic by something like 350,000 votes out of a voting population of some 30 million. He got a little more than 50 per cent, Mitterrand a little more than 49 per cent of the total: it was really one-half of France against the other. But the two halves are not at all similar. Opinion polls and studies by political experts have shown that a majority of men voted for Mitterrand, a majority of women for Giscard; most of the younger generation also voted Mitterrand; and of course, the overwhelming majority of wage earners did the same. Moreover, it has been noticed that between the first ballot on May 5, and the second on May 19, a noticeable percentage of people who had voted for Giscard and the other candidates of the Establishment transferred their votes to Mitterrand, while the reverse seldom happened. Not only did the advantage of Giscard and the right wing shrink between the two polls, but experts agree that his very marginal victory is due in large part to the extremely low rate of abstention (12.5 per cent). Those who stay away from the polls, in France as in most countries, are the "nonpolitical" members of the population, people who just don't care, and are interested only in having "business as usual." The right wing alone can get such people to participate—if, that is, it can create a real panic. That is exactly what happened: the "Red scare," especially on the second round, brought to the booths large numbers of tottering old ladies and the usual type of small-town Babbitts who normally say, "Politics? I don't care, it's all corrupt."

All this indicates that Giscard d'Estaing is essentially the President of the business world, big, medium and small; of landowners, big and medium; of the backward part of the feminine electorate, generally manipulated by the more reactionary elements of the Catholic Church (in many rural areas the parish priest has as much voting influence, especially on women, as he did seventy years ago) and, finally, of the older people. That doesn't mean, of course, that everyone voted to type. In France, as in America, a proportion of manual laborers and of young people vote for the Right, and there were prominent businessmen who called for a vote for the Left. But the general trend is what counts, and it is unmistakable: this was a class vote, more so than in any other French election for a long time.

Of course, American readers will say to themselves that this 50-50 balance between two major parties or coalitions, one of them substantially representing the wealthier elements in society, the other one the less privileged, has become a more or less common phenomenon in most Western countries, and does not prevent a government from operating normally. However, there is a big difference in this respect between France and countries like the United States, Britain or Western Germany. In France, we have a Presidential system like that of the United States, but the constitution concocted in 1958 by General de Gaulle for his own use gives the President definitely more power than any President of the United States has ever enjoyed. Moreover, the voting system that de Gaulle also introduced for parliamentary elections has been rigged to make gains there easier for the Right, more difficult for the Left. That is why the present French Parliament, elected in 1973, has an overwhelming right-wing majority, with the Left, which polled nearly as many votes then as it did last month, grossly underrepresented. This Parliament will sit for four more years, unless Mr. Giscard should find it an inconvenience to him. But why should he?

This distortion of the electoral balance is what makes the situation in France so different from what it is in the United States, Britain and Germany. In those latter countries, and many others, the party or coalition that is beaten in a general election still has a substantial representation in the legislature. The opposition is not powerless, and the government must take care not to outrage a strong minority opinion.

The curious thing is that exactly that would have happened if Mitterrand had been elected. He would have faced a right-wing Parliament and, if it had proved unmanageable and he had been forced to call for a parlia-

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mentary election, the new Parliament, even if it had swung somewhat to the left (especially if elected under a new, more honest voting system) would still have retained a strong Right opposition which Mitterrand, for all his Presidential powers, could not have ignored. Giscard d'Estaing, on the contrary, enjoys today the delightful position of having both those Presidential powers and a ready-made Parliament, which will do as it is told for the next four years.

That is why the Presidential election was so important for all the French underprivileged classes, for organized labor, for progressives and liberals generally: it was the one opportunity to challenge and to balance in the near future the power of the French Establishment, which has been managing the country as a family business for the last sixteen years. The opportunity has now been lost; plutocracy is back in the saddle, powerful as ever, and the Left has no effective parliamentary recourse, no way to resist politically the business world and entrenched wealth, for whom Valéry Giscard d'Estaing is one of the shrewdest and most energetic champions. During the past six years as Minister of Finance he has, with his tax policy, his policy of agricultural and industrial prices, his building policy (fine homes for the well-to-do; few houses for those who really need them) and his general income policy, served those interests in the most ruthless fashion. The result, as stated by that practiced economist, Pierre Mendès-France, has been to distribute the growth of the French economy in such a way that the richer part of the population has received by far the larger slice of the cake. After the recent victory, Giscard will, of course, continue on these same lines.

It is therefore not astonishing that the Left, and especially organized labor, is considering another way to fight the tremendous power of the Establishment. This alternative was mentioned during the election by leaders of the Left and by union leaders, but it is much more an inevitable development of political dynamics than a matter of decisions by organizations and their leaders. Half of the country, and much more than half of its active forces (youth, working class, et al.) is going to be, at least for the next four years, in a state of political underprivilege—sadly underrepresented in Parliament and not represented at all by the President. It must find another way to express its needs and make its power felt, but the only course that lies open is industrial action—wage demands, strikes, demonstrations, etc. Moreover, it is quite probable that these weapons will be taken up not only in the industrial world but among farmers and small shopkeepers, who have already reacted violently against the present trend toward monopolistic shopping centers and large agricultural concentration.

It is an intractable political law that lack of representation leads to clashes, and it is doubtful that Mr. Giscard's technical skill, even his legerdemain, will enable him to avoid them.

Apart from these developments in the possession and application of power, the French Presidential election has uncovered several interesting political phenomena. One of them—notwithstanding what was said above—is the noticeably reduced effectiveness of the "Red scare." Giscard certainly owes his success to the manipulation by the right wing of a large part of the electorate, which was subjected to a "Red scare" so reckless that it verged on the absurd (one minister said on the radio that if Mitterrand were elected, the Red Army would soon be in Paris). But although the mass press, the radio and television overflowed with many frightening suggestions, almost half the country nevertheless voted for Mitterrand. And since the percentage of actual Communist votes in the country is not above 20, more than half of Mitterrand's supporters were non-Communists who refused to be scared. This is definitely a new state of mind, and it is bound to become even more apparent in the months and years ahead. This time, although the Right spent millions on Giscard's campaign, in which the Communist peril played a noticeable part, the scare tactics were far less effective than in 1969, when Pompidou was elected, or at the 1973 parliamentary election.

Indeed, the time seems to be coming when the Communists will have to be accepted in the normal political life of the West, as they are already in Finland and Iceland, and as has just happened in de Spínola's Portugal. This has come about in part because the Western Communist Parties (even the French party, one of the most monolithic and bureaucratic) have taken their distance from Soviet policy. During the campaign, the Soviet ambassador paid a visit to Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, Finance Minister but also Presidential candidate. This courtesy could have hurt the Left (even if it was not meant to do so) by showing Giscard as a "man of peace," but it was astutely seized upon by the French C.P. The party paper, *L'Humanité*, published a stern protest against a Soviet intrusion into French internal politics.

And in part the change has come in the wake of the Russo-American détente. World capitalism can't have its cake and eat it—it can't both cozy up to the USSR and keep the "Red scare" alive. But the main factor for the Communist comeback in democratic politics is the fact that many people have gradually realized what François Mitterrand realized a long time ago and made the backbone of his position—that if the Socialists reject the Communist alliance, they must perforce fall back on an alliance with the Center and the Right. That is a platitude, but it has far-reaching consequences. For more than ten years after 1947, as a result both of American pressure and Stalinist policies in the USSR, the Socialists *did* repudiate the Communist alliance, and associated themselves with groups on their Right. Thus, they were pushed into reactionary policies, both in the colonies and in France, lost membership and votes, and were thinned down to a point where they ceased to be of any use to their more powerful conservative allies, who abruptly dropped them. That experience similarly opened the minds of even die-hard anti-Communists like former party Secretary General Mollet and Mayor Defferre of Marseilles (who was to be Mitterrand's prime minister) to the advantages of renewing the pre-1947 Socialist-Communist alliance.

It has been clear for some time, not only to Mitterrand but to a growing sector of French opinion, that it is misleading to compare situations in France with those in

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Eastern Europe, as has been the custom of those anti-Communists who go about muttering "remember Prague." In 1948, the Czech Socialists were forced into union with the Communists and then eliminated from power. But Czechoslovakia was under the threat of the Red Army, whereas France is in the American zone of influence. It has been there ever since Yalta, and the more so today after the super-Yalta concluded between present American and Soviet leaders. The Red Army is going to stage no "summer maneuvers" in France, and even if they were not as shrewd and sensible as they are, the Communists would know that their only chance of coming back into French politics is to be loyal and relatively unobtrusive partners in a Popular Front. *They* have no recourse other than an alliance with the Socialists, whereas if the Communists had not behaved well, Mitterrand could at any time have got rid of them and formed another majority from forces more to the right, as the Socialists did after 1947. At that time, the change was made not because the Communists misbehaved but because their elimination was a condition of Marshall aid, and also because they opposed the war in Indochina.

Another new phenomenon is the virtual disappearance of traditional or orthodox Gaullism. Jacques Chaban-Delmas, former prime minister under Pompidou, wartime Resistance leader and staunch Gaullist, was the Gaullist candidate during the first round. Many people expected

Juhl, P.I.B. (Copenhagen)

The White Wine Is a Little Better.

him to lead the field, but he polled only 15 per cent, as compared to Giscard's 32 per cent, and had to retire ingloriously after asking his followers to vote for Giscard. There are a number of reasons for this poor performance. Pompidou, and Giscard himself, laid the train for Chaban's embarrassment a long time ago, when Pompidou dismissed him as prime minister, calling Messmer in his place, and Giscard let "leak" from his finance ministry to the left-wing press information that Chaban-Delmas had used some elaborate oddities in the taxation regulations to reduce his income tax to a pittance. Giscard was already preparing his Presidential future and Pompidou was eliminating orthodox Gaullism, with which he had been (if not openly) on the worst possible terms since he and Giscard got rid of the General himself in 1969.

But behind these palace quarrels lies a broader consideration. Gaullism was an artificial phenomenon, a myth created around a single man. De Gaulle was used by the Establishment, but was relatively independent of it, in the 1960s as in the 1940s. He was able, therefore, on the one hand to bring into the Gaullist camp a lot of working-class and *petit-bourgeois* votes and support, and on the other hand he could force the ruling class to accept a relatively neutralist and anti-colonialist external policy that ran squarely counter to the feelings of the French business world. Even his internal policy, which stressed "participation"—that is, cooperation between capital and labor and some management power for the workers—offended French capitalism, but had to be put up with as long as he lived. After his death, Pompidou toned down Gaullist policy in both foreign and internal affairs, but could not do away with it entirely. Now, with Pompidou dead, things are returning to their natural order. Most of the Gaullist politicians and statesmen are right wingers, and were supporting Giscard, openly or secretly, even during the first round. Chaban-Delmas tried to create a middle-of-the-road image, "between the extremes," but the simplifying effect of a Presidential election does not tolerate such subtlties. Giscard appeared as the sharper and stronger Establishment candidate, Mitterrand as the only working-class candidate, and that was that. There was no room for Chaban's Gaullist "third way."

It is now doubtful that Gaullism can even survive. Chaban has lost all credibility, and most of the other leaders are already Giscard's men. Some prominent Gaullists of truly progressive convictions, like former Ministers Jeanneney and Pisani, and former deputies Vallon and Rousset, called upon their followers to vote for Mitterrand, and it was apparent from the election figures that quite a number of them responded. This is General de Gaulle's second death.

However, there are areas in which even such a conservative statesman as Giscard d'Estaing can hardly go back on de Gaulle's legacies. One, of course, is the colonies. De Gaulle's colonial policies were ambiguous for a long time; he was largely instrumental in developing and maintaining French colonialist attitudes from 1945 to 1958 by threatening to denounce the leaders of the Fourth Republic as defeatists and traitors if they gave up the smallest chip of France's Empire. But after 1958, coming to power on an ultra-colonialist wave, he reversed his policies and did precisely what he had blackmailed his predecessors into not doing. Giscard d'Estaing, even if he wanted to (which he doesn't), cannot go back on decolonization.

He might like to reverse de Gaulle's policy of independence from the United States, which was followed up to a point by Pompidou and his foreign minister, Jobert. But here also de Gaulle left a situation that will not be

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easily changed. He proved (what Tito, Nehru and others had proved before him) that in a world where power is balanced between the United States and Russia, no country is required to become a satellite if it is not militarily occupied by one of the giants. It can *choose* to join with one or the other, but it does not have to do so. This was amply demonstrated by France in the years of Gaullist rule, and it is therefore impossible to assert that France, being part of the West, *must* obey American orders—the assumption that was official policy during the Fourth Republic. It is probable that Giscard's policies will be to a degree warmer toward America, but there is a limit beyond which he cannot step without creating hestitations and antagonism among his own followers.

Moreover, the policy of relative independence has created certain business links with the USSR and the other Socialist countries, with China, with Algeria, with the Arab countries in the Middle East; these are important not only to France's balance of payments and oil supplies, but to the turnover and profits of many powerful industrial and financial firms. The ties will curb any disposition that Giscard might have to comply with Dr. Kissinger's urgings that France return to the traditional American nursery of obedient infant-states.

He may indulge in some European developments to please both the men in Washington and his new ally, Jean Lecanuet, the leader of the non-Gaullist Center. Mr. Lacanuet is an extreme pro-American politician and a European supernationalist. He thinks that his party, a remnant of the old Christian Democratic party of 1945, might regain some strength if it could participate in a united Western Europe, with a European capital and a European Parliament; recent achievements by the Christian Democrats in Germany and Italy encourage Lecanuet in these views.

But there are also limits to the "appeasement" of European supernationalism. Neither Britain nor Italy, not even Germany, seems ready for such a development. "Europe" will be mainly a catchword for political homilies for many years to come. So, if I am right, not many changes are to be expected from Giscard d'Estaing's Presidency; it will, I think, be "business as usual" for the next period. But that, precisely, may be the hitch. Half of France voted for Mitterrand in order to have a real, deep change. And Giscard had to assert, over all the media, with all the huge financial means at his command, that he "*too was in favor of change.*" Will words now be enough to satisfy everybody? □

2. Why Brandt Stepped Down

HERBERT S. LEVINE

Munich

When Willy Brandt resigned as German Chancellor on May 7, Cabinet ministers and Bundestag deputies wept unashamedly. Brandt has been the most loved party leader in postwar Germany, and there can be no doubt that the affection now being expressed for him at all levels in the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and the despair that accompanies his departure, spring from genuine and deeply held feelings. This lends a special pathos to his resignation. Inevitably, public attention in Germany has been focused on the personal aspects of the event, especially since the press is filled with sensational rumors that Brandt stepped down to avoid the political consequences of a very confusing spy and sex scandal. For the moment, the German public is more interested in Brandt's extramarital love life than in the political context of his resignation.

It will be some time, if ever, before the details of Brandt's motivation are fully known. The leadership of the SPD, terrified by the prospect of more local electoral defeats, and fearing disaster in the 1976 Bundestag elections, is trying to minimize the general political significance of Brandt's resignation. The attempt is best described by the expressive German verb *bagatellisieren*. It is not likely to succeed. As for Brandt himself, there is little doubt in Germany that he is now playing his political role to its conclusion. He remains party chairman of the SPD, but it is improbable that he will retain his party post, or will want to retain it, much after the parliamentary elections in Lower Saxony on June 9. The speculation by James Reston (*The New York Times*, May 9) that Brandt may soon return to power cannot be based on a real knowledge of the situation within the SPD. Brandt and a number of his supporters will leave the active leadership of the party. Those Brandt people who remain will make their accommodation with the new Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt. Thanks in good part to the efforts of Brandt's old friend and recent opponent, Herbert Wehner (SPD leader in the Bundestag), Schmidt has already become the center of a new political constellation. Schmidt is not loved as Brandt is, and his sharp tongue and tough manner are not likely to increase his popularity in the party organization, but he is a man of proven attractiveness to the electorate. The desperate SPD organization has little choice but to follow him, and to hope that he can dispel the aura of weakness and helpless confusion generated by the Brandt government in recent months.

The Christian Democratic opposition (CDU) has naturally chosen to interpret the resignation as a sign of the complete political failure of the government. It is true that the voters have been using local elections to express their dissatisfaction with the way the government has dealt with inflation, unemployment, the energy crisis and labor troubles. In many other nations, governments

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in power have suffered a rapid erosion of popular support for similar reasons, but it is not probable that these matters alone would have moved Brandt to resign. The objective economic situation in Germany is relatively favorable, the general elections are two years away, and Brandt might reasonably have hoped for a return of voter confidence. It also seems implausible that the Guillaume espionage affair and the related personal scandal by themselves would have produced the decision to resign, especially since the basic story of Brandt's extramarital escapades has been floating about for years.

The former mayor of West Berlin has always been known as a "fighter." Until quite recently, he projected the image of a completely decent but very tough politician. Brandt is a natural leader who thrived on struggle; only that sort of person could have taken the SPD to victory after so many defeats. For a moment on the mournful day of his resignation Brandt attempted to conjure up some shadow of his old self, telling his party: "This is not a time for sorrow but for courageous struggle." Under the circumstances, the attempt was more than a little pathetic. Struggle? Against whom, or what? Brandt was presumably trying to remind his partisan audience of the election battles that lay ahead, but it is not on the struggle against the CDU that the SPD must concentrate in the next few months. The SPD will almost certainly continue to run about in circles, snapping at its own tail.

Leading a united party against external adversaries was something Brandt did very well indeed. If that unity had held, he might well have been prepared to see his other difficulties through. Unfortunately the organization which brought Brandt to power, and which he played an important part in creating, has begun to split badly. Recent disputes within the SPD, and between the SPD and the closely allied trade unions, have had a noticeable and adverse effect on Brandt's ability to cope with political stress. The Guillaume affair, it may be guessed, simply served as the last straw. Presiding over an organization turning against itself is a difficult and depressing business. It is perhaps to Brandt's credit that he had no stomach for it.

In part, the disputes have been occasioned by Germany's current, highly complex and not entirely satisfactory economic situation. Disagreements over the economic path to be taken led to the resignation of Finance Minister Schiller and his defection to the CDU, and more recently to a strike by public employees demanding wage increases in excess of government guidelines set up to slow inflation. In both cases, Brandt acted as if he felt personally betrayed. Inflation and unemployment threaten the relationship between the SPD and the unions. But still another issue threatens to disrupt the organizational unity of the SPD itself—the rather sudden revival of Marxism within the party—and on the resolution of that internal crisis may depend the future of Brandt's party after his departure. The problem has its roots in the early history of the party.

As Helmut Schmidt would probably like to forget, revolutionary Marxism was the official ideology of the SPD in the period before World War I. The vestiges of the past still litter the present. The "Second International" still exists, at least formally, and the SPD belongs to it. Quite a few members still prefer to address one another as "comrade," and use the familiar *du* to symbolize the brotherhood they are supposed to feel toward one another. A special relationship, much strained in these inflationary days, still exists between the party and the trade unions. A stamp was issued honoring Karl Marx in 1968, and another, depicting Rosa Luxemburg, has recently appeared in a series honoring German women. The government is attempting to create some measure of "co-determination," participation by workers in the decision-making process of the firms that employ them. But socialism is no longer part of the party program. It has been replaced by a rather vague commitment to social progress and "social democracy."

Nuernberger Nachrichten (Germany)
Willy Brandt

The period of Socialist domination of the party was rather brief and never complete; after 1918, the hold of socialism weakened rapidly. There were three principal causes: the natural preference of the German working class (like all industrial working classes) for bread-and-butter gains rather than Marxist theory; the desire of the party leadership to attract votes from outside the working class and a small group of Socialist intellectuals, and the fight against communism dispensed from Moscow. To a certain extent, the fight against the common enemy, under Nazism, brought Socialists and Communists together, particularly during the "Popular Front" era, and later, after the German invasion of Russia. With Hitler in power, there was no need for the SPD to be unduly concerned with the wishes of trade unionists and voters. They would in any case have to do what the *Führer*

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ordered. But once the Nazi state disappeared, the old tendencies re-emerged, now in the context of the cold war and a divided Germany.

A special factor at that time was the decision of the Soviets to combine the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and the SPD in their zone of occupation, to form the "Socialist Unity Party" (SED), the party currently ruling in East Germany. Social Democratic leaders outside the Soviet zone bitterly criticized the alleged "merger" as nothing more than the Stalinist destruction of their party in the Soviet zone. They refused to have anything to do with the SED, or with the KPD in their own zones.

The SPD thus entered the Bonn era with a renewed legacy of bitterness against communism and anything that looked like it. The party in the 1950s could only welcome the legal banning of all Communist parties and organizations in West Germany. In the early 1960s the SPD was quite comfortably led by Brandt, anti-Communist hero of the struggle for Berlin. German voters began to shed their prejudices against the "comrades" of the SPD, and Brandt led his party into a national government for the first time since Hermann Müller resigned as chancellor in 1930. Brandt could well afford to ignore the sniping of certain Socialist and Left-liberal writers who claimed that the party had betrayed both its distant, revolutionary past and the hopes for peace and social justice raised after the defeat of Nazism. As party chairman, as foreign minister, and eventually as Chancellor, Brandt led a highly centralized, well-disciplined, united and confident party organization to victories unprecedented in the history of the SPD. He himself was honored by a Nobel Peace Prize. He did more for the reputation of Germany abroad than any politician since Stresemann. It must have seemed the full justification of a lifetime of political struggle.

The first signs of trouble could be seen in 1966, with the desertion from the party of much of its own youth. This development peaked in 1968, that year of almost-revolutions. Fortunately for the SPD's internal cohesion, the majority of the young rebels, most of whom considered themselves Marxists, expressed their contempt for the "establishment" by refusing to join any sector of it. The young people who occupied university buildings and marched shouting through the streets raised the ghosts of German socialism, but they did not join the SPD. They called themselves the "APO," the "extra-parliamentary opposition," and true to their name they avoided electoral politics and the party organization as if they were synonymous with degeneracy and corruption.

Herbert Wehner, the vigorous SPD leader in the Bundestag, had some fairly forceful confrontations with the APO, as did others of the SPD leadership. The abuse hurled at them by the youngsters may have hurt the feelings of these old anti-Nazis, but it did them, or their party, little political harm. On the contrary, attacks by the APO only improved the SPD's prospects at the polls. Brandt's *Ostpolitik,* his daring policy of détente with Communist governments abroad and his forthright jettisoning of the foreign policy baggage of the Adenauer years, inevitably raised the possibility of an anti-"Red" backlash in the German electorate. Indeed, since 1969 the CDU has done everything possible to create this backlash. In two hard-fought national elections, Brandt proved he could resist that type of attack. The German people supported him, because he seemed to stand for peace and prosperity. And it was difficult for the CDU to accuse him of selling out to international Marxism when he, his closest associates and his party were the subject of continual harassment and abuse from Marxists at home.

The ebbing of the German youth rebellion after 1970, part of an international decline, raised anew the traditional question of the Left: "What is to be done?" Ironically, the very success of the Brandt government, particularly in its relations with East Germany, helped to determine the shape the answers would take. The change in official policy regarding East Germany raised the possibility that openly Communist organizations would once again be legal and could engage in election campaigns. This has occurred. There are at present three "major rivals on the Communist scene in West Germany: the German Communist Party (DKP), more or less representing Moscow and East Berlin; the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), which uses the traditional initials of German communism to support a pro-Peking orientation;

Regensburger Umschau (Germany)
Helmut Schmidt

and the Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninist (KPD/ML), which particularly emphasizes the importance of armed proletarian struggle. None of these groups has significant mass support, but they do provide a political home for some of Germany's Marxists, along with the remnants of the APO organizations.

The existence of these groups has forced the SPD to consider what policy it should adopt toward them. Officially, the current party program is clear enough: it calls for complete noncooperation. The correctness of this course is self-evident to the older leaders of the

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party. The long struggle against Ulbricht's Stalinism has left them with an ineradicable hatred of Communists at home, however much they may support détente abroad as the best guarantee of peace. The SPD's fight for political success has also convinced them that the shedding of the Marxist image was essential, and that there is no future in Germany for any party identified with Marxism.

But not all of Germany's Marxists have found their way to the several Communist parties. Some have determined to "work within the system." The SPD has always harbored a few Marxist or near-Marxist intellectuals. The problem is now much more serious. The "Young Socialists" ("Jusos"), who are calling the party back to its Marxist past, occupy important positions in several local party organizations, and are represented by more than thirty Bundestag deputies, as well as some locally elected pubic officials. The weight of the new Juso power within the SPD is in the local parties, which in some places they have completely captured, even though the elected SPD public officials in those areas may largely belong to the party's right wing. Munich provides a case study of this strange state of affairs, where party and the SPD city government are moving in opposite directions. The problem is also serious in Frankfurt (where, it may be remembered, the spy Guillaume established his reputation in the SPD as a right-wing anti-Communist).

The Jusos display a great variety of political opinions, and their socialism often seems to have little in common with the various party lines of DKP, KPD and KPD/ML. In particular, they tend to reject the possibility or desirability of violent revolution in Germany, and they dislike the rigidity of thought found in the Communist parties. But local circumstances have occasionally required them to temper their attitude toward the Communists and to weigh the possibility of cooperation, however tactical and temporary. Their rhetoric has tended to be more radical than their actions (an old tradition on the SPD Left), and they have responded to attacks against them with words more likely to offend and frighten than to conciliate.

Not surprisingly, the CDU soon hit upon the revival of socialism within the SPD as an excellent propaganda issue. Its task was eased by the renewal of tensions in German universities in 1973 (see "The Academic Left: West Germany's New Scapegoat" by Robert Wuliger, *The Nation,* June 4, 1973), which recently exploded into major riots in Frankfurt. Members of the new Communist movement and the old APO, as well as some of the Jusos, have been involved in the agitation, which has spilled out from the universities into their surrounding urban settings. The result has been a demand by local governments (particularly those controlled by the CDU) that members of movements which reject the present constitutional order should be barred from civil service positions, even if the movements themselves have not "as yet" been declared illegal. The primary targets of these attempts are the Communist parties, but the Jusos have opposed such projects as reactionary and undemocratic. The older SPD leaders, yielding to a massive and rather vicious campaign by the CDU, have by and large accepted the need for excluding members of "anti-constitutional" movements from the civil service. The Jusos now find themselves accused by the leaders of their own party with making common cause with communism.

Brandt's first inclination was to bridge over or ignore the gaps developing in his once-unified organization. His policy was not successful; instead of being accepted by both sides as a conciliator, Brandt was attacked as weak. He found himself deserted by Herbert Wehner, his old friend, and Helmut Schmidt, the ambitious heir apparent and no friend of the Chancellor, made it clear that he favored a hard line against the Jusos—an attitude not surprising in a man who has reportedly boasted that he never read Marx. Now Brandt has left, and Schmidt will succeed him.

The established party leadership has the muscle to force the Jusos out of the party, through formal proceedings based on nonadherence to the party program. Such proceedings have already begun and under Schmidt they are likely to continue with increased vigor. The Jusos, many of whom are already professional politicians, are not likely to bow out quietly. The struggle will severely hurt the party organization and, if pushed to its logical conclusion, could result in the formation of a new party.

A careful packaging of Schmidt's leadership may improve the SPD's position at the polls, but it is doubtful that the struggle against the Jusos will itself improve the standing of the party with the voters. It is ironic that the SPD's current exercise in gratuitous fratricide is occurring at the every moment when the Left is finding its way to a revived "Popular Front" in France, in Portugal and even, to a lesser extent, in Italy. Events in Germany seem peculiarly out of step. This is in part due to the SPD's position as the party in power at a period of sudden changes of voter allegiance. The alarm of the SPD at the prospect of losing power, combined with historically determined tensions within the party, has produced an absurdly exaggerated reaction to the presence of Marxists in the party organization. The SPD has reached the point where it will allow its coalition partners, the Free Democrats, and its enemies in the CDU to tell it how it ought to clean its own house.

At present writing, it is far too early to guess how the new European Popular Front coalitions will develop. What is certain is that the SPD has missed its chance to play any role at all in the development of the European Left. Despite his *Ostpolitik*, Willy Brandt could provide no real leadership here, although he did produce some of the preconditions for a Popular Front by relaxing East-West tensions. Helmut Schmidt will have nothing whatever to say to the Left. This vigorous NATO advocate, who once alienated many in his party by a "premature" support of German rearmament, will do his best to eliminate Marxism from his party and to harden the West German position in negotiations with the East. The CDU may yet regret its contribution to the destruction of Willy Brandt. Schmidt promises to move the government in precisely the directions the CDU has been "suggesting" for years. The CDU may find itself in the most embarrassing of political positions—that of an opposition party with nothing to oppose. □

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3. Israel: Terror and Promise

HERBERT KROSNEY

Jerusalem

Terrorism and Syria. These are the two points that dominate discussion in Israel these days—discussion which includes the almost unbelievable probability that Dr. Kissinger has succeeded in bridging the gap between the Israeli and Syrian negotiating positions. The horror of Maalot sent trepidation through the country. School tours were canceled, civil defense has been emphasized. The Northern border suddenly seems to Israelis a sieve through which terrorists can enter to spill blood at will, and there is disappointment in Israel's leaders and a dimunition of total faith in the abilities of Tsahal, the Israeli Defense Forces. The country expectantly awaits the formation of the new government under Premier-designate Yitzchak Rabin.

Israel, including the Israeli Army, is suddenly composed of human beings who commit mistakes, some of them almost as bad as those American leaders make. One knew all the time that the Israelis were fallible, but the illusion of invincibility had been taken for reality in a country of only 3 million that had been able to more than hold its own against the arrayed Arab nations with a population of more than 100 million and a land area some 100 times larger than Israel's.

Luck played its part. For six years, from 1967 to 1973, good fortune lay with the Israelis. The run of the dice suddenly changed and what once could be called daring countermeasures against terrorism became major tragedies. The government had agreed to release twenty terrorists in order to free the Safad schoolchildren in Maalot, but mixed signals and profound distrust between the two sides necessitated the break-in to the schoolhouse before the building blew up. Disastrously bad luck.

The news from Maalot and its after-effects gripped the country, pushing both Kissinger and Yitzchak Rabin out of the headlines. The actions by and surrounding either of these two men could have far greater long-range importance, but the heart of Israel ached with the murder of the schoolchildren, and today the issue of terrorism is paramount in the minds of all Israelis. How can one attain peace if, to do so, one must sit down with assassins? Peace is still far away, whether or not there is a withdrawal-of-forces agreement with the Syrians, whether or not Israel and the Arab states are able at last to sit down together in Geneva. A reservoir of hatred is filling up, and for the first time in six years here I feel that Israeli Jews with a Western background, that is the Ashkenazim elements in the country, have begun to look upon Arabs generally with distrust and hatred. Who wants to live with people for whom the killing of children is an acceptable act?

The issues surrounding the formation of a new government seemed trivial in comparison with the slaughter at Maalot. Could the dominant Labor Party agree to a government of national unity in this time of crisis? Rabin's answer was that a coalition with the more right-wing Likud would tie the hands of the government in the upcoming negotiations with the Arab states, and thus a coalition with smaller parties became necessary. The crucial issue is the attitude of the National Religious Party, with its demands for a traditionally religious definition of the question, "Who is a Jew?" If the NRP would not compromise, could a government be formed and who would be the ministers within such a government?

Rabin, at the time of writing, has formed his government on the basis of a narrow coalition with the Independent Liberals and the Citizens' Rights Party, headed by a topnotch woman politician, Shulamit Aloni, who is despised by Mrs. Golda Meir. There are to be changes in the Cabinet. Dayan's sidekick, Shimon Peres, will probably take over the Ministry of Defense from his friend; Abba Eban will definitely be out of his post at the Foreign Ministry, with Yigal Allon, the Deputy Prime Minister, spoken of as his replacement. These and other changes will produce a new sabra look in the government of Israel. In sum, few changes in policy, but a change of style as the younger, Israeli-born generation takes over the reins.

The issues concerning disengagement with the Syrians also faded in importance compared to Maalot. No exultant cries of joy will greet the beginnings of a state of no-war (and an agreement cannot be more than that). But no one has forgotten the Israeli prisoners sitting in Syrian prisons; no more than one could forget the cruelties of the Golan war, so different from the fighting in Sinai, where the Egyptians acted with elementary codes of military behavior. The Syrians behaved, this time as before, with a cruelty and a disregard for human life that most Israelis find barbarous.

My own feelings about the Golan center mainly on a kibbutz called Merom Ha Golan, perhaps the key settlement from the point of view of the Israelis in negotiations with the Ba'athist regime in Syria. I made my first visit to the kibbutz, which is also the first Israeli settlement on the Golan, in 1968. The settlement had just been established and its members were living in a group of deserted Army barracks in Kuneitra. The whole area had the atmosphere of a Wild West town; the settlers used to go exploring the Golan astride fine stallions.

My next time back to Merom Ha Golan was during the Yom Kippur war, with the shells of Syria falling ever wider of their targets as the Israeli forces pushed the Syrians back toward Damascus. The kibbutz had moved; it now nestled about 3 kilometers from Kuneitra under one of the three key hills so much debated in the Kissinger negotiations, and from the top of which one had a clear view almost to Damascus itself. The situation of the kibbutz was obviously defensible, but only as long as that hill was held. Yehuda, the kibbutz secretary, told me in October that "there's no going back. Now they're out of range and they'll have to stay out of range."

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I returned to the kibbutz for the third time only a few days ago. All the settlers were back, and they were concerned, but not frightened, by the negotiations with the Syrians. The kibbutz was a thriving enterprise, with activity everywhere. Its buildings are solid structures, massed in a semicircle around the dining room which is soon to be turned into a factory. A tractor was digging a hole for the swimming pool; technicians were repairing telephone wires; a new dining room and social center was under construction, with Jews and Druze workers combining forces to get it built. More impressive are the shelters, built at a cost of more than a quarter million dollars apiece, and spread through the kibbutz for easy access from any point. The kibbutz "command center" is housed in one of the shelters, and they are all connected by radio.

The settlers were living half in and half out of the shelters, since the Army ordered all settlers underground whenever a shelling started, even though the target of the Syrian batteries might be distant. Michael Meron, one of the settlers, summed it up: "We don't want to leave the Golan because this is where we want to build our life and it's necessary for Israel. Without those hills adjoining the kibbutz, we can't defend either the kibbutz or the Golan generally.

"And without the Golan, we wouldn't be able to defend the Hula Valley, and the settlements there would come under attack just as they did before 1967."

Some Israelis fear that the government has already given up too much in its negotiations with the Syrians. It is clear that the Israelis will never cede all of the Golan, since to relinquish the heights above the Jordan would once again put into jeopardy Israel's northern finger from Tiberias to Metulla. But does a kibbutz like Merom Ha Golan, and the $5 million or more invested in it, become expendable? Can the Golan be defended at all without those hills next to Kuneitra? What does one have to sacrifice for peace, and will it be a real peace?

I suspect that it is too early to ask some of these questions. There is still, and deservedly so from the Israeli point of view, too deep a feeling of antagonism and distrust between the sides. The Syrian Government has apparently acted as a real government, with some responsibility, in the recent negotiations, and has now proved itself capable of some dialogue and some compromise. But Syria has much to prove before Israel could truly put trust in its word.

The more basic problem lies with the terrorists and the Palestinian movement generally. I have always spoken for the national rights of the Palestinians, so long as the security of Israel was assured, and acknowledged that a political solution with the Arabs of Palestine must be arrived at, but nonetheless I find it hard to imagine how the Israeli Government can sit down with groups that have proven themselves to be murderers.

It is the unfortunate fact that the terrorists are now the acknowledged leaders of the Palestinian movement. They have been recognized as such by almost all the Arab states, with the possible exception of Jordan, which still has designs on its former lands on the West Bank of the Jordan. Still more unfortunate is the fact that this situation need not have developed. The position of the terrorists as undisputed champions of the Palestinian cause can be traced in part to the short-sightedness of Israeli policy. In the six years of grace given to the Israelis from 1967 to 1973 to deal directly with the majority of Palestinians, who live within the administration of Israel, the government consistently refused to approach them in a national sense, only in a human and economic way.

This is not to deny the humanitarianism of Israeli policy, or to say that the good will created in those six years came to naught. Human contacts were established. Economic cooperation between Jews and Arabs continues. For the most part the Arabs on the West Bank now look upon Jews and Israelis as normal human beings, and these Arabs know that Israel is here to stay, and that they must come to terms with that fact.

What was missing was any real initiative in the political sphere. The Israelis have long claimed that there was no one on the West Bank with whom they could talk, but from nearly a million persons there must have been at least two or three with whom it would have been possible to discuss and even negotiate. A more explicitly political form to the Palestinian entity could have been encouraged. In the absence of such movement, a void was created, and only the Palestinian terrorist organizations could fill it.

Basically, Mrs. Meir was the person to blame for this failure of Israeli policy. Certain others in her Cabinet, including Yigal Allon and Moshe Dayan, could have given Israeli policy a new look. But her insistence that the Palestinians were either Jordanians or a people with no nationality meant a consistent denial of any Palestinian national rights and a closing of their case to dis-

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cussion. "I, too, am a Palestinian," she explained at a press conference in 1970. "I had a Palestine passport before Israel was established. The so-called Palestinians are Southern Syrians, according to them, and this whole concept of a Palestinian nationality is totally new.

It seems impossible, after Maalot and Kiryat Shmona, even to consider sitting down at the same table with a Hawatmeh, a Habash, an Arafat. But it is they, and not the mayors or the younger Arab leaders on the West Bank, who are the unquestioned leaders of the Palestinian people. Peace, a genuine peace, remains a long way off. But perhaps a new Israeli Government can offer that change in style which will bring out new directions and forces among the Palestinians themselves.

One would think, with all these crises in Israel, external and internal, that the country would be in a perpetual state of hypertension. But a walk down the streets of Tel Aviv or Jerusalem suggests precisely the opposite. Young people are drinking in cafés, couples walk the streets, business has popped back to normal after a slowdown following the war. Even tourists have begun to return to the country in force. Life is back to normal—almost. It will not be easy to dispel the memory of Maalot. □

PARENT TO CHILD

LEGACY OF BATTERING

CELESTE MacLEOD

Mention "the battered child" and people shudder. "It's so horrible I don't want to hear about it," is a common reaction. "People who injure their own children must be sick—they must be monsters." Social workers who see the parents of battered children find a different situation. Instead of monsters they meet ordinary people from many walks of life; parents who are troubled but rarely sick in the clinical sense. Yet these parents share one characteristic: in their own childhoods they were severely beaten or otherwise abused. The cycle of abuse is passed from generation to generation, learned as surely as how to drink from a cup or tie one's shoes.

The traditional solution to battering (put the parents in jail and take away their children) has perpetuated this cycle. Under that system, abused children were raised by a series of foster parents and often in a state institution or two. Many grew up with an obsessional need for love, coupled with a lack of "parenting" techniques that doomed them to repeat the abuse pattern. In recent years a few groups have tried a new approach. Instead of automatically removing abused children from their parents permanently, they work intensively with the mothers and fathers, trying to teach them, in effect, how to be parents.

The pioneer in this area is Dr. C. Henry Kempe, professor of pediatrics at the University of Colorado Medical Center, and director of the National Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Abuse, in Denver. Kempe introduced the term, "battered-child syndrome," in a 1962 medical article and co-edited with Dr. Ray Helfer *The Battered Child* (1968) and *Helping the Battered Child and His Family* (1972). Kempe and his colleagues at the Medical Center started the first program for parents who abused their children. They found that nearly 80 per cent of the battered children who came into their hospital could be returned home within six months without risk of further injury, if their parents received intensive help during that period (when the child lived in a temporary foster home), and if there was a follow-up program after the child went home. The Denver approach has spread across the country, and along with it a growing awareness of the abuse problem.

Every state passed some type of reporting law on abuse within a few years after Kempe's first article appeared, but only a few states allocated any funds for the reporting, or for programs to help parents who had been identified as abusers. Finally, in January 1974, Congress passed the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (PL 93-247), which can help states and organizations set up such programs. The Mondale Law, as it is popularly named for its sponsor, Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota, can be a real step toward stemming child abuse if its funds are not limited to large research-oriented institutions but go also to small self-help and prevention programs.

Less than 10 per cent of parents who abuse their children are psychotic, workers at Denver and other centers have found. They do, however, tend to be isolated, fearful people with little self-esteem. In their own childhoods they were expected to be submissive and obedient, never making mistakes; so that their mothers and fathers would appear to be exemplary parents. They received constant criticism, but no praise. Now adults, they treat their offspring the same way, demanding behavior that often exceeds their children's mental and physical capacities and punishing them severely for the slightest transgression. Infants who cried for hours, who wet their pants after the parents began toilet training, or who wouldn't eat, have been beaten to death by parents who said afterwards they were only trying to teach their child to behave properly.

Elizabeth Davoren, the first social worker in the Denver program, found that abusive parents expected their babies to provide the love and comfort their own

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parents had denied them. A mother would say, "Nobody has ever loved me; I thought my baby would. When he cries I feel he doesn't care." Says Davoren, "It simply did not occur to them that the baby might be crying because he needed something." The best way to remove the danger of abuse, Davoren and her co-workers found, "was to substitute ourselves as an always available source of satisfaction to the adult who was threatening the child." They began hiring parental aides, paraprofessionals who became friends to parents, on a one-to-one basis. The aides encourage parents to phone for help whenever a crisis arises, day or night, instead of hitting their children. They also help parents find gratifications in the adult world, so that having model children becomes less crucial.

The Children's Trauma Center in Oakland, Calif. (part of the Children's Hospital there) follows the Denver approach. Unlike traditional therapists, who discourage dependence during treatment, Director Sharrell Munce says: "We tell parents: 'you've never been able to lean on anyone or reach out. So lean.' We become the parents they never had." Each staff member works with a few parents, and on weekends the staff and doctors at the hospital rotate being on twenty-four-hour call. Their program emphasizes group "reparenting" sessions, where mothers (and one "couples group") meet weekly with a social worker. The average age of these parents is 23. Learning that other parents also have problems with their children and that they will not be criticized for revealing their feelings, they open up. Marital conflicts come out, along with serious economic problems. The center maintains a client emergency fund for small loans and gifts. "A repaired washing machine can save a child's life." Gradually the parents in a group become friends—a major achievement, says Munce, because for many these are the first friends they have ever had. They begin calling one another in time of stress and exchanging baby-sitting, as well as socializing.

When doctors suspect that a child in the hospital has been abused, the center holds a conference of all those involved—doctor, social worker, nurses, police, probation officer, protective service worker and, when appropriate, teacher. The parents are also invited. "Abuse is a reality of life," says Munce. "We need to deal with it in a matter-of-fact way." Workers tell the parents that the law requires their agency to report suspected abuse. They explain that the case may go to court; encourage the parents to get legal counsel, and outline possible alternatives. According to psychiatric theory, this approach should ruin any chance of developing a therapeutic relationship with the parents; in practice it is often the prelude to therapy. Parents who injure their children are not proud of themselves, Munce points out. When they understand what is happening and are offered help, they usually take it—proceeding with caution. The trend today is to remand abuse cases to family court whenever possible, instead of pressing criminal charges. Abuse is hard to prove, because there is rarely a witness. Acquittal justifies the parent's behavior, while conviction breaks up the family. Either way the child loses. (Exceptions are parents who willfully torture their children and want to destroy them. These people, whose cases are often widely publicized, are part of that less than 10 per cent of abusive parents whose behavior is pathological. Their children, of course, are not returned to them. Good foster homes are essential here.)

Some other parents cannot be reached by "therapeutic intervention." They were so harassed or intimidated by agency personnel in the past that they want nothing to do with people in official capacities. Parents Anonymous, which operates along the lines of Alcoholics Anonymous, gives them a way to help one another with their battering problems. The first chapter was started in 1970 by Jolly K (a woman who had lived through dozens of foster homes, thirty-two institutions and two bad marriages by the age of 30), when she found herself unable to stop beating her daughter. There are now 110 chapters across the country. Other groups have adopted some of the features of Parents Anonymous.

One outgrowth of the self-help idea is Parental Stress Service in Berkeley, Calif., a small private group that has served Berkeley and surrounding towns since 1972. It maintains a twenty-four-hour crisis line, puts parents in touch with appropriate community resources, and has a core of volunteers who provide emergency child care in their own homes and become friends to troubled parents. About one-third of the people they see fit the classic picture of the abusing parent, according to Carol Johnston, founder and director. The stress inherent in today's life causes many parents to strike out at their children in frustration, because they are there, says Johnston. Her group wants to help parents before their stress reaches the breaking point.

One woman phoned the crisis line in the middle of the night and said, "Come and get my baby or I'm going to kill her." A worker rushed over and found Erica, a 19-year-old mother with an infant who wouldn't stop crying. Erica's husband was in prison, she was working full time, her family was 3,000 miles away, and the baby had colic. The worker found a home for the baby for a week, until Erica pulled herself together and could feel love for her child again. With time to think and some counseling, she decided to return to her family, until her husband was released from prison. In another case, Sybil, with three children, couldn't stop beating her oldest child, a daughter who reminded her of a previous husband. Parental Stress put two volunteers on this case: one is a supportive friend to Sybil, who had become so isolated she would not even go out to shop; the other acts as a "grandmother" to the daughter.

Although child abuse is widespread today, it is not new, nor is it unique to the United States. But there has probably never been a country where the nuclear family is as totally responsible for child raising, or where so many people live in isolation. Vance Packard has called us *A Nation of Strangers* because we move around so much. In other times and places, parents in stress could send their children to a sister or a neighbor for a while. An abused child might run to such homes for refuge, until dad or mom calmed down. Infant battering was hard to hide when the rest of the family lived close by and neighbors knew one another well. Our village days

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are gone, even if a few people try to simulate that atmosphere through communal living. In this mobile industrial society, we need new outlets to compensate for the old resources.

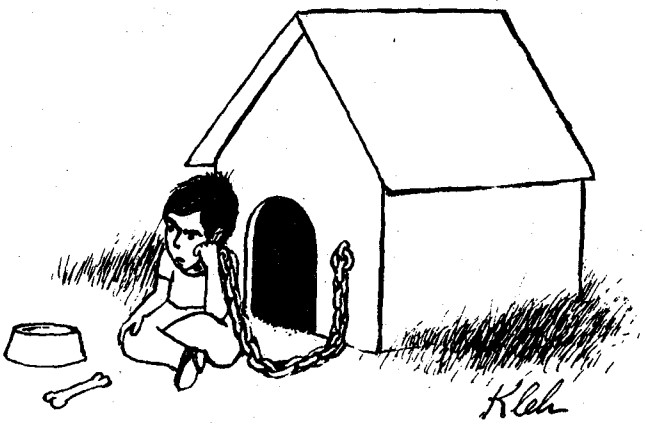
Day-care centers could be such an outlet. Social workers estimate that foster-care placement could be cut in half if adequate day-care facilities for abused children existed. Almost the only such programs in the country now are two demonstration projects, in San Francisco and Boston. Here abused children attend nursery school and their parents receive therapy. "Every parent we see was a child we missed twenty years ago," says Elsa Ten-Broeck, director of the San Francisco program. She believes that, along with more day-care centers for children already abused, crisis nurseries should be set up as a preventive measure. Sharrell Munce envisions a drop-in child-care center in every neighborhood, perhaps in an old house or in a school or church basement. Neighborhood volunteers could run the program by day, with a paid staff at night, ready to take children temporarily whenever a family had a crisis.

Another type of outlet is CALM (Children's Abuse Listening Mediation) in Santa Barbara, Calif., a twenty-four-hour resource-referral center to combat child abuse, which has a wide measure of community support. A small paid staff and nineteen volunteers are backed up by a twenty-one-member board of trustees, as well as an auxiliary which raises funds. In 1973 they made $6,000 at a boutique sale. Some activists might see the "charity ball mentality" in a boutique sale, but in one sense, the people in CALM are *avant-garde*. They share with members of communes the belief that many people should be involved in raising children, not just the nuclear family; that the welfare of children is a community affair. (Not surprisingly, the bulk of programs to prevent child abuse began in the Far West, land of the newly arrived.)

Little attention has been paid as yet to teen-agers. In Berkeley, a study of juvenile girls living on the streets showed that their childhoods marked them as likely child abusers. Most girls had run away from parents who beat or neglected them, yet they invariably looked to motherhood as their passport to happiness. Having a child would dispel all personal problems, they believed, bringing them constant love and reassurance from an appreciative infant. (The popular media encourages such fantasies by showing women being fulfilled the instant they change a diaper, and placing motherhood one step from divinity.) Sixteen-year-old Anne, a victim of extreme brutality at home, said, "If I had a kid it would be the only thing that was mine, that would love me, and it would be something that I needed and that needed me—a part of my body."

Instead of waiting until the infant of someone like Anne arrives at the hospital with fractures, it seems logical to work with troubled teen-agers in an effort to keep the battering cycle from recurring. Helping young people develop a sense of self-worth and a trust in others is a preventive step every community could take. The teens are an apt time, because the student (or dropout) cannot yet be isolated to the degree of the young married who pulls down the blinds and seldom goes out the front door. Clinical work at Denver has shown that the best preparation for parenthood is a warm relationship with a caring adult in childhood. For nearly twenty years Big Brothers has provided adult friends for boys, but only for those with no father in the home. Big Sisters, a later and as yet much smaller organization, helps girls with or without mothers at home, matching them with a sympathetic adult. Teen-Aid in Philadelphia does the same for girls referred through the courts. None of these groups was set up to prevent child abuse, but they all serve that purpose indirectly. Expanded use of such organizations, or new ones designed to help children from homes devoid of real parental care, could do much to break the battering cycle.

Education about parenthood is another neglected area. In Oakland volunteers from the Children's Trauma Center take a slide show around to local high schools, with captions such as "Parents are blamed but not trained," a saying from Dr. Thomas Gordon's course (and book) *Parent Effectiveness Training*. The School District of Hayward, Calif. ran a series of lectures for adults and students this spring, covering topics like "Ages and Stages



of Parenting," and "Another Chance: Parenting is Learned." High schools could teach courses in basic child development. Such courses could also outline the resources available to parents in their community, explain how these services work, and emphasize that seeking help in a crisis is a positive step that can make people better parents.

Not everyone has unqualified praise for the new approaches. Sociologist Richard J. Gelles of the University of Rhode Island points out that current theory is largely based on data obtained from hospitals. There is too much labeling of parents as "sick" and curing their symptoms, says Gelles, who believes more energy should be focused on contributing factors, such as poverty, unemployment, marital conflicts, unwanted children (born because abortions were not available or encouraged) and the difficult child whose behavior invites abuse. Prof. Richard J. Light, writing in *The Harvard Educational Review*, recommends caution in setting up programs with funds from the new Mondale Law. Several alternative lines of research should be field-tested, Light says, with constant evaluation and comparison.

The new law earmarks $85 million over the next four years to combat child abuse, so there is speculation about

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which programs will receive grants. "Our society is geared to research rather than direct service," says Carol Johnston of Parental Stress. She shares with others the fear that a handful of hospitals and agencies with elaborate research projects may swallow up the money. Directors of such projects could be counted on to produce thick annual reports, with the statistical graphs and charts that impress Congressmen, while smaller groups might send back only a few pages. "How can you show what you prevent?" asks Johnston. A Small Grants division could provide the funds for local programs that help everyone who calls them.

All these programs may salvage the lives of individual families, but until one fundamental cause is dealt with, the chances of making a significant dent in the battering cycle are slim. Physical force against children is the prevailing acceptable method of child rearing in this country. Denver psychiatrists Brandt Steele and Carl Pollock have noted the tie-in: "dealing with the abused child we are not observing an isolated unique phenomenon, but only the extreme form of what we could call a pattern or style of child rearing quite prevalent in our culture." Spanking children is as American as apple pie. Anything goes—until the injury requires hospitalization or kills the child. Then hitting suddenly becomes monstrous.

David G. Gil, professor of social welfare at Brandeis University, reached a similar conclusion after conducting a survey on child abuse in the late 1960s for the U.S. Children's Bureau. In *Violence Against Children*, which reports his findings, Gil recommends "clear-cut cultural prohibitions and legal sanctions against the use of physical force as a means for raising children." We can begin by passing laws against corporal punishment in schools, correctional institutions and child-care facilities, says Gil. He also postulates a connection "between culturally acceptable violence against children and culturally unacceptable violence among adults and among various groups in American society."

Dr. Vincent J. Fontana, medical director of the New York Foundling Hospital and a long-time crusader for the prevention of child abuse, makes the same point in more outspoken language. "The probable future tendency of abused children is to become the murderers, robbers, rapists and perpetuators of violence in society," Fontana says in his recent *Somewhere a Child Is Crying*. "To put it crudely: if they don't beat up their own kids, they'll beat up on someone else. And they may do both!" Fontana cites a study of ninety murderers in the rural areas of Texas and Minnesota: as children they had all been "victims of remorseless brutality."

TenBroeck describes some of the abused children who come to the San Francisco day-care center as "incredibly violent." They are 18 months to 3 years old. Their parents ask, "When are you going to hit these kids? You're spoiling them."

Money spent combatting child abuse may be a more effective crime prevention measure than new prisons. But whatever the effect on our national violence problem, the benefits to the children involved, and to future generations, are incalculable. Community involvement can be the key to change. As Dr. Kempe says: "Every child is everybody's business." □

ADVISORY COMMITTEES

THE BACK-ROOM ARM TWISTERS

WILLIAM RODGERS

Government secrecy still rides high, despite Watergate and lesser embarrassments. Readers skeptical of that assertion need look no further than the Federal Advisory Committee Act of 1972.

The Act grew out of a few chance encounters that Sen. Lee Metcalf (D., Mont.) had with advisory committees a few years ago. These committees are established, usually by statute or Executive Order, to lend the support of their knowledge and experience to the work of various legislative and executive bodies. What the Senator couldn't understand, for example, was why a big business advisory group to the old Budget Bureau, innocuously named the Advisory Council on Federal Reports, was strong enough to postpone for six years an Interior Department inventory of industrial water wastes.

During 1970 and 1971 Metcalf's Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations held hearings to document the shambles that passed for policy among federal agencies overseeing hundreds of advisory committees. First were the procedural niceties—nobody knew how many committees there were, or what they did. They met in secret, excluded unfriendly faces, charged exorbitant fees for their minutes if they kept them at all. The Bureau of Mines' Underground Mines Advisory Committee, meeting to help write safety standards, won the brevity record by boiling down the minutes of an all-day session to a cryptic seven lines on a single sheet of paper. For an investment of a mere $128.50 an interested citizen could gain access to the sketchy minutes of the Department of Commerce's National Industrial Pollution Control Council, a big business advisory group with a big voice on pollution regulations.

More important than finding out who sat on advisory committees, where they met, and what they talked about was the disclosure that their power as policy makers often exceeded that of an assistant secretary. The Department of Interior's Joint Task Force on Eutrophi-

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cation (whose minutes are to be found only in the offices of the Soap and Detergent Association) put the brakes on government moves to restrict phosphates in detergents. The National Air Pollution Control Administration's copper smelter liaison committee was in business principally to guide government anti-pollution research in "safe" directions. The Technical Advisory Committee to the Office of Pipeline Safety made its contribution by ambushing a government questionnaire designed to probe such pertinent subjects as the depth and age of the pipe in the ground.

The problem is that, beyond giving advice, these committees can and do make policy. Working from within, they shape regulations, hobble research, veto new drugs, approve nuclear reactor sites. They are a crutch for bureaucrats who don't want to decide, and a shield for bureaucrats who have been forced to do so.

The possible abuses of the advisory committee system were adroitly orchestrated by Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans when in 1970 he set up the National Industrial Pollution Control Council (NIPCC), which he later praised for "playing an increasingly important role in both government policy making and in industry leadership." In fact, Stans used NIPCC simultaneously to lobby against tough pollution standards distasteful to big business and to raise money for the President's re-election campaign.

After interviewing a campaign official who had worked closely with Stans, Frank Wright of the *Minneapolis Tribune* a few months ago quoted his informant on how Stans had berated a businessman who had the temerity to refuse an appointment to NIPCC:

> "Just as the liberals have lobbying groups in government, we have to have lobbying groups in government, too, to keep the President on the right track on (William) Ruckelshaus [then the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency]. And you didn't join us when there were guys there giving up days in their business, going down to Washington to work on this thing." Stans confronted his target with another invitation to join the council, adding, "And your assessment is $10,000." That was the word and the figure he used. I can still see the business guy's face. He paid.

It is bad enough for politicians to shake down big businessmen who deal with the government (as all of them must do). It is worse to extract the *quid* while at the same time offering the *quo* in the currency of government power shared through advisory committees.

NIPCC was the epitome of this practice. Altogether, considerably more than $1 million in contributions flowed into the re-election coffers from individuals whose companies were represented on the council. At least fifty-one of the 200 members made substantial contributions to the re-election campaign, the Republican National Committee, or both. The 3M Company loaned NIPCC its chairman, Bert Cross, and gave the re-election committee an illegal $30,000 contribution. The Fluor Corporation won a slot on NIPCC, contributed more than $10,000 to the re-election campaign by way of the "Fluor Employees' Political Fund," and coincidentally was the winner (through a subsidiary) of a $2.3-million Department of Interior contract to study the effects of coal mining in the West. Pepsico's chairman, Donald Kendall, chaired NIPCC's Beverage Sub-Council, contributed $28,000 to the re-election committee, and was gratified when the Nixon Administration refused to take a tough stand against nonreturnable containers. Kennecott's chairman, Frank Milliken, chaired NIPCC's Mining Sub-Council, contributed to the campaign, and had his judgment vindicated when the Administration wavered on tough pollution rules for copper smelters. The Northrop Corporation's Thomas V. Jones, sat on NIPCC's Airlines and Aircraft Sub-Council, gave $40,000 to the campaign, expecting it would not be publicly reported, and was pleased by the Administration's nonconcern about the jet noise problem.

Last December, a CBS special, *The Corporation,* featured William Keeler, chairman of the board of Phillips Petroleum. Mr. Keeler was quoted on the benefits of serving on advisory committees: "Having gotten acquainted with so many people and knowing them on a personal basis it made it real easy for me to go into government and discuss problems with them." The program had a surprise ending: Keeler and his corporation pleaded guilty to making an illegal $100,000 contribution to the President's re-election campaign. Mr. Keeler was advised by counsel not to talk any more.

Other oil and gas men gave more than $5 million to re-elect Mr. Nixon. No less than eighty-seven of the contributors hold advisory positions on the National Petroleum Council, the American Petroleum Institute, or both.

The Advisory Committee Act of 1972 was supposed to come to grips with special access and undue influence typified by groups such as NIPCC and the National Petroleum Council. The Act requires that each agency account for its advisory committees and, more important, calls for "timely" notice of the meetings, which shall be open to the public and on which "detailed" minutes shall be kept. But there is a sizable loophole: a meeting may be closed if the agency head determines that it will consider matters exempted from disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act. Predictably, inventive bureaucrats spawned a host of evasive techniques.

One way for advisers and special-interest seekers to avoid going public is to assert that they are not an "advisory committee" with regular membership, periodic meetings and a fixed agenda, but merely a group of congenial spirits. One example: the FTC's rule making on phosphates in detergents was compromised after a series of secret meetings between members of the agency and representatives of detergent manufacturers and their trade association. Another example: the Civil Aeronautics Board recently invited consumers, members of the press and the airline industry to discuss problems of overbooking. The meeting was abruptly terminated by an agency official, who ordered consumers and reporters to depart so that discussions could continue with industry representatives alone. The courts will decide whether this was a meeting of an "advisory committee" or just an informal gathering of friends.

Groups calling themselves "private" reliably escape

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from the Act. Trade associations are in this category. Another example is the Business Council, an inspiration of sorts for NIPCC, which for forty years has been a pipeline for major industries into high government echelons. Back in the early 1960s the council severed its formal relationship to the Department of Commerce to avoid the limited disclosure obligations imposed on industry advisory committees by an Executive Order of President Kennedy.

Another powerhouse that prefers to work secretly is the National Academy of Sciences, described by D.S. Greenberg as the scientific community's "Established Church, the House of Lords, the Supreme Court, and headquarters of the politics of science." The committees of this august body, which advise the federal government on everything from drug abuse to grizzly bear management, still meet in secret like the tradesmen they are not. The Academy's Committee on Motor Vehicle Emissions, which will pass judgment on the capabilities of automobile pollution-control technology, has repeatedly refused to open its meetings to outsiders or disclose the working papers upon which its studies are based. A lawsuit is pending to test this preference for secrecy.

Another dodge is for an advisory committee to conduct its important business through informal sub-groups that are arguably outside of the Act. Typical is the National Petroleum Council, which political science Prof. Robert Engler commends as a "case study" on how concentrated economic power is "capable of shaping or forestalling presumably public policies." The council's full meetings are largely ceremonial, while the serious work that shapes government policy is conducted in smaller subcommittees and task forces. It took the personal attention of Senator Metcalf to dislodge some of the minutes of these supposedly lesser entities.

Congress' decision to extend the Freedom of Information Act exemptions in the Advisory Committee Act has already proved a mistake. Within the Department of Interior the trade secret doctrine is invoked to bar the public from discussion of coal gasification research projects, while coal company competitors and their trade association, sitting as advisory committee members, absorb the information behind closed doors. Grants review committees at the National Institutes of Health are closed to protect the ideas of the applicant: he isn't asked whether he would prefer an open meeting to protect him from bias, cronyism and arbitrariness.

A gaping exemption allows nondisclosure of "inter-agency or intra-agency" communications. This evasion is inviting because all that's needed to close the doors is an unsubstantiated claim that the discussion will focus on internal agency matters. This is the preferred rationale, for example, for shutting the doors on the deliberations of the AEC's Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards (ACRS). In a recent hearing on the wisdom of siting Virginia Electric Power Company's North Anna Power Station on a series of geological faults, the ACRS took the position that its consultants' reports on the matter were confidential. Legal maneuvers eventually forced disclosure of the information, but the committee is free to erect similar impediments in the future.

The Cost of Living Council routinely closed each and every meeting of its advisory committees until ordered by a court to open them up except upon the "rarest occasions." Within a month the council closed a meeting of its labor-management advisory committee, ostensibly to talk about a staff paper containing views on such matters as the economic and fiscal outlook for calendar year 1974. Ron Plesser, attorney for Ralph Nader's Center for the Study of Responsive Law, took the council to court again to force disclosure.

A blizzard of procedural impediments has attended early administration of the 1972 Act. The "detailed" minutes of the meetings are lessons in brevity. The "timely" notice is sometimes issued after the meeting is held. Inaccessible sites are much in demand: government advisers have been known to meet in the executive suites of an oil company, at a local restaurant or on the chairman's yacht. Committee members still specialize in bias: a recent appointee to the National Advisory Board on Wild Free-Roaming Horses and Burros is a cattleman with experience in corralling wild mustangs.

Explanations for closing meetings are couched in the blather of officialdom. Why can't the public attend meetings of the Civil Service Commission's Federal Prevailing Rate Advisory Committee? Because the "meetings will be closed to the public under a determination to do so," reads the full explanation appearing in the *Federal Register*. The public should ponder Secretary of Interior Morton's reasons for closing all meetings of the big oil-dominated Foreign Petroleum Supply Committee and related subcommittees: "These discussions will be related to matters that are specifically required by Executive Order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy." Those who indulge in speculation that conspiracy against the public would be on the agenda along with national defense and foreign policy are denied the evidence to test their thesis.

Yet, Morton's notice is better than some, like that of the U.S. Advisory Committee on Information which has gone to the trouble of getting a Presidential determination to avoid giving any notice of its secret meetings. Mere disclosure of the fact that a meeting is held presumably would compromise state secrets.

Secrecy in government is constantly repudiated. Its popular disguises—executive privilege, national security, the need for confidentiality—are by now laughing-stock excuses. But secrecy survives and thrives, despite well-meaning ventures like the Freedom of Information Act, the Advisory Committee Act, and strong Congressional oversight. The cure will not be quickly found. Sunshine may be the best of disinfectants, as Louis Brandeis said, but advisory committees root and flourish in the shade. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Yes—But What Do We Do, Now, about Famine?

SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL: Economics as if People Mattered. *By E. F. Schumacher. Harper & Row. 290 pp. $8. Paper $3.75.*

ASHER BRYNES

The economics Mr. Schumacher discusses is Buddhist—yes, Buddhist—and it turns out to consist of the ordinary gainful work that other economists talk about too. But he has a new slant on it. He is most interested in the effect that work should have on us. He says the doing of work, if we appreciated it properly, should give each of us wonderful opportunities to perfect our skills and develop our talents. It should enable everyone to "overcome his ego-centeredness" by joining other workers in the performance of common tasks. Finally, coming almost as a bonus after our participation in such life-enhancing activities, a rational economy would distribute the goods and services humanity needs to live a *becoming* existence.

Becoming? That's a clue word; Mr. Schumacher's viewpoint is as much aesthetic as economic. More is involved in his basic formula for work "than the production of incomes and the lowering of costs; what is involved is the whole relationship between man and nature, the whole life-style of a society, the health, happiness and harmony of man, as well as the beauty of his habitat." And he condenses that formula into what he calls *the law of return*; in agriculture—in his scheme of things that's the fundamental way men make a proper living on this earth—we must insist on returning to the land the nutrients we remove from it when we harvest its crops.

Finally, he would change the nature of ownership, cutting down the bigger industrial and agricultural corporations everywhere to units of no more than 350 workers because *small* is efficient as well as beautiful.

Now let's see how this might work to solve the most pressing problem of our time, the hunger in the poorest nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa. They are, in the World Bank's official enumeration, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Ethiopia, India, Kenya, Mali, Pakistan, Sri Lanka or Ceylon, Sudan, Tanzania and Zaïre. They contain an estimated 815 million people—the present population of China. When we stop to think of what we should do for this hungry quarter of the world we remember that this is a time-based question; we cannot wisely consider things that we don't have time enough to do. The first thing we have to do is see to it that the hungry are fed, then improve their nutrition by balanced diets, then upgrade their consumption of fruits and meat and dairy products. We also have to find time to rationalize (through job training) their work habits, to improve their methods of organization, recast their economic structures and finally reschool their political leadership.

Today, now, we've time to do only the first of these things. That was the thought of Dr. Norman E. Borlaug, the Rockefeller Foundation plant breeder who won the Nobel Peace Prize for work on high-yielding strains of wheat and rice, the world's chief food staples, when he stopped at New Delhi on his way through India last March. There the top brass of the Indian departments of agricultural production and food distribution assembled to hear him; in sum, all the important personages responsible for carrying out Dr. Borlaug's program for Green Revolution in the country that needs it most. India's present population is 570 million, with about 14 million babies born annually, or 58,000 a day.

They were such a polite hushed group that they looked, while waiting for him to begin, as if they expected a scolding. And they got it. The doctor is famous for the shortness of his temper and now he really laid it on. He repeatedly accused them of his favorite vice, complacency, and not only them but their brother officials in the poorer countries generally.

The doctor's tantrum was so violent that the nice middle-class words he used came out vibrating like the four-letter kind. Briefly, the Indian officials responsible for the purchase of reserve stocks of food grains had failed to buy additional supplies of wheat, for instance, when it could have been had for about $2 a bushel on the American commodity markets; then they flooded those markets with orders for wheat, on what looked like a panic basis, when the bushel prices were climbing to more than $4 and even $5. Other Indian officials responsible for the maintenance of supplies of fuel for the operation of gas and diesel-powered irrigation pumps in irrigated areas—India has more land under pump-fed irrigation than any other country in the world—maintained almost no reserve at all. So when the oil-producing nations on the Persian Gulf suddenly raised their prices for fuel and for petroleum feedstocks four and five times, there was not only a sharp cutback of irrigation water but also of synthetic fertilizer production—and both of these things mixed into the soil itself are essential to Borlaug's Green Revolution. When that mixing doesn't happen his wonderful seeds grow more poorly than the ordinary kind.

Borlaug wound up his tirade by suggesting that all the senior Indian executives responsible for these errors should starve *themselves* for a fortnight, and shut off their drinking water for the four days following, before venturing to produce what he hoped would not be more wrong decisions. Why? Because he felt that the agricultural troubles of their country were caused by "too much decision-making in ivory towers and air-conditioned rooms."

Production is the most important objective of economic effort, and only by concentrating on that can workers develop their skills and overcome their egocenteredness and in sum remake themselves into the morally valuable persons Schumacher has in mind. I don't mean to imply that they should seek to clog our cities and countrysides with useless gadgetry, but wherever a real need exists—and it does exist in India and the other poor countries today—they should as a first priority busy themselves to satisfy that need. If the amount and kind of goods and services the world says it needs in the world's marketplaces are to be limited to the amount economic aesthetes think is *becoming*, then surely poverty, not plenty, is going to be your lot and mine.

What does make the Indian farm economy so persistently unlucky? For one thing—and this entirely out of the range of Dr. Borlaug's concern, for he is a synthetic fertilizer and irrigation-water man all the way—consider how much organic fertilizer Indian farmers waste by using it for cooking fuel on

Asher Brynes has been a senior staff member of the Senate Foreign Policy Committee and has served also in the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. He is the author of We Give To Conquer *(W. W. Norton).*

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normal days, and by burning it to purify their dwelling places on holy days. I have not seen recent figures on the number of sacred cows in India; there used to be 70 million of them, each a fertilizer-producing factory through its normal life span. To foreigners unsympathetic to the cult of the cow they look like useless pests, always thin and hungry, mere bags of bone trampling through fences, and like our English sparrows filching what they can wherever anything loose and green turns up.

Now in all this turmoil over India's crisis nobody mentions the Chinese, yet they are the truly efficient farmers. They feed more millions of people—indeed, a quarter of the earth's population—on the produce of only 7 per cent of the world's cultivated land. Of course they are oversupplied with rural labor, as is India. But unlike other underdeveloped countries China has had to rely, since 1950, almost exclusively on its own resources. The Chinese never were offered any of that "surplus" American wheat at concessional (meaning cheap) prices, or entirely free of cost; in contrast India consumed some $5 billion worth of it in the years 1950-71. How did the Chinese do it? And better: how do the Chinese still do it? The traditional agriculture of the Chinese is squarely based on Schumacher's *law of return*. Everything taken from the land in the form of cereals, poultry, fish, pork and cattle must be returned to it. "Night-soil"—the euphemism for human dung—is still collected daily and carted out to the countryside; and indeed the enthusiasm for hog droppings grew to such a pitch in the 1950s, when the Chinese had very few synthetic fertilizer factories, that the government reminded them again and again about the dependence of increased hogs and draft animals upon a prior increase in feed grains to support these animals. Meanwhile they went on garnishing their fields with slurries of ordure and canal and river silt.

But tradition is not much honored in the new China. It really cannot avoid industrialization. With a population that has grown to more than 800 million it has had to abandon Buddhist economics. Recent figures show that in 1970 the Chinese produced some 14 million tons of synthetic fertilizers in their own factories and imported more than 6 million tons from other countries, making a gross weight of 20 million tons *plus*. As one economist says, "Chinese science and technology have proved themselves in a variety of complex areas, from nuclear weapons to computers. There is no reason to think they will fail in the task of growing plants that yield more food per acre."

And now it is time to update this picture of the world's poorest in chaos. The U.S. Secretary of Agriculture is traveling the world over, peacefully selling U.S. farm exports, soybeans chiefly; he has just apologized to the Japanese for cutting off their supply of such beans, at the same time warning them that we have no surplus stocks of any crop. If they want such staples later this year they will have to place orders beforehand in our commodity futures markets. Considering how long it takes to ship feed grains from this country to the Far East, they should secure four- to five-month futures contracts.

Late news from India: estimates of that country's spring wheat crop are down 30 per cent but at the same time (April 19) an agency of the U.N. (FAO) forecasts that the current crop of food grains in the United States will be up 18 per cent over the harvest of 1973. Meanwhile, most of us have read but still don't know how much help the developed countries, cooperating through the U.N.'s foreign-aid consortium, have scheduled for the poor nations. We also don't know what the newly rich oil-producing countries, particularly the Arab states around the Persian Gulf, really plan to do for them. There are many promises of aid floating around and rumors of special reductions in their posted prices for oil. My opinion is that they will still prefer to restrict production rather than lower those prices.

Dr. Borlaug's Green Revolution was outrageously oversold. His seeds are samples of what plant geneticists can do inside our high-energy, industrialized agricultural systems. And now in circumstances of real crisis, they don't pan out. Nor does Schumacher's Buddhist economic system. At difficult moments like these we can't do better than observe the Chinese, who mix all kinds of fertilizer, whatever the quantities that come to hand, and grow enough food to feed a population equal to the number of people in the poorest countries on earth. □

A Flemish Master—of Letters

CHAPEL ROAD. *By Louis Paul Boon. Translated from the Dutch by Adrienne Dixon. Twayne Publishers. 338 pp. $7.95. Hippocrene Books. Paper $3.95.*

CYRA McFADDEN

A writer whose ambition is to get the whole world into a book must be judged not by his failures, for the task is patently impossible, but by the extent of his success. Such a writer is Louis Paul Boon, the Flemish Belgian who in 1972 was nominated for the Nobel Prize. His *Chapel Road* has recently been translated into English under the auspices of the Foundation for the Promotion of Dutch Literary Works, and as a representative work by an author of immense talent and ambition, previously inaccessible to English-speaking readers, it deserves serious critical attention.

Boon is a prolific writer with a wide and admiring audience in Holland and Belgium, and his first novel, *The Suburb Grows (De voorstad groeit)*, published when he was 29 years old, won an important Belgian literary prize. Since that time, he has written many novels—most of them well received by critics and the general Dutch-speaking public—as well as short stories, nonfiction and an autobiographical work. He is also a painter and the editor of the literary section of the Ghent Socialist daily, *Vooruit*.

To American readers, however, Boon is unknown. Because he writes in Dutch, a language spoken by some 20 million people in the Netherlands and the Flemish half of Belgium, and because his highly complex experimental prose must present monumental problems for the translator, Boon remains, like other contemporary Dutch and Belgian writers who deserve wider recognition, in the lonely position of a large frog in a very small literary pond.

The title of another Boon novel, *My Small War (Mijn kleine oorlog)*, which is concerned, like so much contemporary Dutch fiction, with the corrosive effects of World War II and the Occupation, is an appropriate epigraph for a discussion of *Chapel Road;* for in its difficulty, its stridency and its panoramic sweep, *Chapel Road* is a kind of battlefield. Within it, Boon is at war with the futility of human existence as he sees it; with his characters, who embody, like the symbolic figures in a medieval morality play, every conceivable human vice and yet manage to move; and with the limitations of the novel itself, which cannot contain the full breadth of Boon's energies without splitting its structural skin at the seams.

Chapel Road is one long, exuberant flow of language which carries with it like a tidal wave its heroine Ondine, the teeming life of provincial,

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19th-century Flanders, the melancholy history of European socialism from its timid beginnings to its apathetic present, and even Boon himself. He is present throughout, in the figure of Johan Janssens, a small-town man of letters and the literary editor of a Socialist newspaper, and as the disembodied authorial voice, carrying on a dialogue with the author in the second person ("you, Boon"), and alternately encouraging and disparaging the progress of the novel itself. The effect is one of awesome vitality: even the look of the printed text, with its long, parenthetical sentences and its lower-case type, suggests that Boon is writing at white heat, reluctant to slow down either his pen or his reader's eye with too many paragraph divisions or capital letters.

What emerges, however, is not chaos, nor unstructured outpouring. Behind the urgency of Boon's language is a clear-headed intellect and a scrupulous adherence to his meticulous scheme of organization. *Chapel Road* is divided, in typography and in content, into two main sections, two interwoven themes. Italicized passages tell the story of Ondine, whose name suggests the fairy-tale mermaid who tried unsuccessfully to live in two worlds. Her story takes place in the past, while the continuing dialogue between Johan Janssens, the journalist, Tippetotje, the painter, and Boon himself is in boldface type and is set in the present. Interspersed throughout, weaving the two together like the looms and shuttles of the filature—the spinning mill of the town of Termuren where Ondine lives, struggles fiercely to climb the social ladder, and grows prematurely old—is the legend of Reynard the Fox, the mythical medieval survivalist who is drawn in *Chapel Road* as part beast, part man, and who has been recast along more strictly political lines in yet another Boon novel.

The Reynard episodes are ostensibly parodies, written by Johan Janssens for his Socialist paper, which rejects them; they function in *Chapel Road* as satirical commentaries by Boon himself, in his capacity as ringmaster, on the lives of his characters and on the lust, greed and avarice of humankind in general. They also permit Boon, early in the book, to play the first of many Nabokovian tricks, as when he has the music master, another inhabitant of the town of Termuren and a literary traditionalist, say about Johan Janssens' introduction of the Reynard material that "it is a wonderful contribution . . . it gives the novel ti-dum perspective. . . ." Here Boon anticipates, as he will throughout the novel, the pretentious and predictable comments of the literary establishment; the music master is neither Everyman nor Everyreader, but he serves throughout *Chapel Road* as the mouthpiece for Everycritic. Meanwhile, through the voice of Professor Spothuyzen, a pedant's pedant who pontificates on "order," Boon dispatches academia as well.

That aggressive tactic is wise, for the multileveled structure of the novel (at one point Boon interrupts the text to diagram it) lends itself all too readily to a smug, and ultimately limiting, interpretation: Ondine represents the newly emerging middle class, clawing and scratching a place for itself in a rigid, hierarchical society based upon an aristocracy; Johan Janssens, who sees the political scheme of things with a desolate clarity and who cries out against it, represents the moral commitment of the writer to change; Tippetotje the painter represents the ignominious place of art in the modern world. All of this is true, all of it is confirmed by Boon, standing momentarily outside the novel, and all of it is reductive.

For *Chapel Road*, as promised in the introduction, is "more than that . . . a pool, a sea, a chaos." Boon has too

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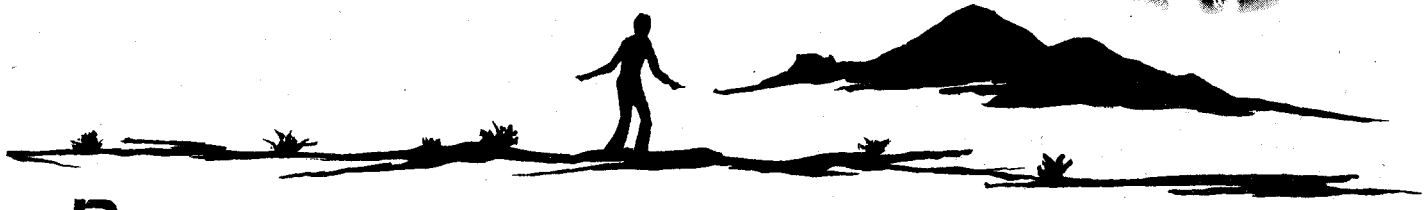

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DANCING

On my feet, grain ships
out of the Black Sea.
Dancing, storm warnings
circle the Mediterranean.
You from Pompeii,
do you remember the other party?

Treads of a tank
when I'm walking. Coffins
when I'm sitting down.
Now there is music.
Here is something the birds carry.

Looking out from mountaintop
and warpaint, you see the cavalry
galloping through the valley. You run
shouting for your friends.
Not only am I dancing, I am singing.

Stephen Dobyns

fine a narrative talent to let his characters exist only one-dimensionally as representatives of this or that. His people not only breathe, but like Céline's, they urinate, defecate, blow their noses in their palms, and make love, or what passes for it, in ditches. They scheme and manipulate and cheat one another. They succeed, briefly, and then fail again; and in their humanity, in their desperate and timeless attempts to survive another day without too much pain, they are unnervingly recognizable, invincibly alive.

Amid the pervasive ugliness of Termuren, Boon's heroine blooms briefly with the glow of newly awakened sexuality; but even Ondine cannot contain the world's ravages which have earlier maimed her immediate family. She has dreams of grandeur and sees herself as a member of the aristocracy by right if not by birth, so that frustration with her lowly station and repressed, adolescent sexuality drive her to half-crazed ferocity. Ondine torments her parents and tries to kill her brother in his sleep. Her fortunes rise briefly, like a comet, and then plummet to earth. She seduces Mr. Achilles Derenancourt, son of the mill owner, becomes for a while the plaything of the rich—which affords her increased stature and a measure of power among the people of Termuren—and is discarded.

In a sense her history is a familiar one. Boon's Ondine is every small-town girl who tries to achieve "upward mobility" through sexual conquest. But she is also unique, the child of 19th-century Flanders and of a changing social order in which there is no room for dreamers. Her inner turmoil, rendered in long, stream-of-consciousness monologues, reflects the chaos of an external world in which the old order is beginning to crumble. In it, the novel's heroine has no prospects, no place to go.

And if there is no place in 19th-century Termuren for Ondine, who fears and despises the emerging middle class of which she is a part, there is no solid ground for Johan Janssens (whose unideological essays on art get him fired from the Socialist paper) and by extension, for Boon himself, in the modern welfare state. Still another level of *Chapel Road*, the most complex, attempts to deal with the task of the writer, the visionary and the poet, that "unacknowledged legislator" of mankind, in a society where art is valued only for its usefulness, its relevance. Even where its utility is not primarily at issue, is contemporary writing perhaps an exercise in futility, as the glib music master suggests to Boon, when "all there is to say has already been said"? The voice of Janssens replies that "maybe it *is* impossible to say anything new and better, but the dust of time falls on everything that has been written and so I think it's right if every ten years someone draws a line through all those old things and describes the world-of-today in different words." To do so requires the new forms, and the experimentation, that *Chapel Road* exemplifies; for Boon's "hesitations and doubts," the depression he tells of and the elation, do not sway him from the conviction that he, not the ordinary reader, knows best what kind of literature must be written now:

> . . . a reader is like somebody who loves to go for walks and who loves the countryside, that is well-ordered countryside, with paths meandering through fields and an arrow at each crossroads, to Mon Repos, so that the walker, who loves the countryside, knows he won't be late to lunch . . . but he doesn't care for real countryside, which is a jungle in which he would get lost. . . .

Egbert Krispyn's introduction to *Chapel Road* calls the book "an irreverent work which has drawn much hostile criticism for its alleged pessimism, vulgarity, and structural incoherence." Compared to those experimental novels which have followed it since its original publication in 1953, *Chapel Road*, with its blueprints and diagrams and its careful separation of various levels, is not only coherent but almost conventional. And Boon's bawdiness, while unabashed, is witty and erotic, never insistent or obscene. As for "pessimism," a charge which is leveled against much postwar Dutch writing, it is true that *Chapel Road* is, in Boon's words, "a journey from nihilism to realism, return trip. . . ." But when Reynard the Fox celebrates, at the end of the book, "The Republic of Nothing," he does so with such good-humored irony that one hears, as one always hears beneath the voice of the true satirist, the incorrigible idealist.

Chapel Road was translated by Adrienne Dixon, who has managed, despite formidable odds, to render Boon's wit, his vitality and his Nabokovian word play into English. Let us hope that other works of Boon will soon become available. In the meantime, *Chapel Road* deserves to be read, for if Louis Paul Boon cannot get the whole world into a book, he does manage to encompass much of it. □

Japan's Super-Corporation

MITSUI: Three Centuries of Japanese Business. *By John G. Roberts. John Weatherhill. 564 pp. $13.50.*

ALBERT AXELBANK

This may well be the very best book we shall get for many a year on the amazing super-*zaibatsu*, on the international connections, the politics and the moguls that helped this growth, and why; and, principally, on the birth, expansion and inner workings of the Mitsui giant—the world's oldest large-scale business enterprise—and hence on the kaleidoscopic story of the rise of Japanese capitalism.

It is unlikely that another writer, journalist or scholar will soon have the extraordinary access to the house of Mitsui, or to Mitsui family leaders, that John G. Roberts has had. He is an experienced journalist with superb scholarship and the knack of catching that often elusive fact that helps tie together seemingly unrelated historic events. But this is no "authorized" story of Mitsui. The author tells us in the preface how Mitsui asked him several years ago to do a short history of their trading house, and how the present book came to be written as an independent work with absolutely no strings attached. Almost every page is proof of this.

For example, the following paragraph

Albert Axelbank is author of Black Star Over Japan *and* Japan Destiny. *He has often contributed to* The Nation *and other leading periodicals in North America, Europe and Japan.*

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would never, in my opinion, appear intact in an "authorized" history:

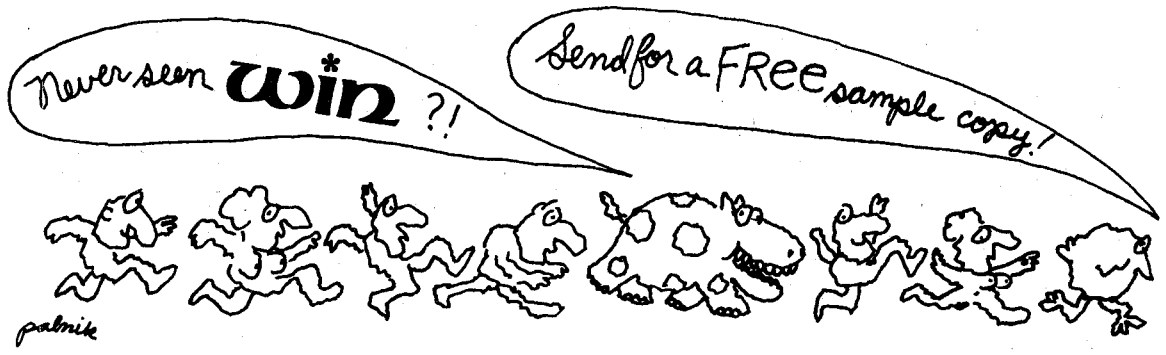
> It is perhaps significant that until Japan's defeat the seclusive Hachiroemon (Baron Mitsui Hachiroemon Takakimi) had scarcely seen or spoken to the younger executives who were to keep the Mitsui name alive and eventually bring it into new prominence. And never was he able to establish rapport with them. He also had an unhappy obsession about the menace of communism and international Jewry and an abhorrence for having any dealings with organized labor. Rather than grapple with such adversaries, real or imaginary, he remained above the battle, and despite urging from his clansmen who looked to him for leadership, he seems never to have entertained seriously the idea of restoring the House to its former high estate. As one member of his family puts it, in good clear English (if not in an access of charity): "Hachiroemon had *no—guts.*"

Moreover, the following paragraph, showing the immense landscape of *Mitsui* and the ability of the author to steer clear of euphemism, a popular vice of many scholars, is typical:

> Among American businessmen there were many, among the Christians, at least, who were well disposed toward Nazism—Henry Ford, William Randolph Hearst, DeWitt Wallace, Charles Edison, and Harvey Firestone, to name only a few. These were some of the wealthy backers of a quasi-religious international organization called Moral Rearmament founded by Dr. Frank Buchman, also an American. When Buchman explained, "I thank heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler," they were not estranged from the movement. Ford had been an early admirer of Hitler and was quite at ease in the anti-Semitic atmosphere of MRA—among whose German members were Gestapo chief Heinrich Himmler and the *Führer's* right-hand man Rudolf Hess. It is not at all surprising, then, that Buchmanism, the new religion of big business, was eventually introduced into Japan by the nation's biggest business family, Mitsui.

Roberts helpfully disposes of the myth of the destruction and elimination of the *zaibatsu*, or powerful combines. He says that despite the breakup of the *zaibatsu* holding companies by General MacArthur's headquarters, the corporate pattern of Japan remained very much as it had been in the past. Indeed, he provides formidable proof that the *zaibatsu* combines were never really broken up, and that after the American antitrust zealots departed, all the social and economic forces at work in Japan favored a revival of the system that had proved so successful in the past. The Japanese conservatives could even gloat over the fact that they had "put one over" on MacArthur by reinstating—during the Occupation—the old guard in government, and were pleased beyond words to find stout business and anti-Communist allies among American financiers and in the G-2 (Intelligence) Section of SCAP. The latter, as Roberts says, was organizing clandestine intelligence agencies, somewhat similar to the notorious Black Dragon Society, by recruiting men from the defunct imperial army and from bands of terrorists to spy on left-wing activities in Japan. One American mission to Japan early in 1951, which was headed by John Foster Dulles and included John D. Rockefeller III, could very well have been construed by their Japanese hosts, says Roberts, "as foreshadowing the American-Japanese *zaibatsu* partnership that actually materialized."

There are only one or two minor points in the book on which this reviewer demurs. For instance, Roberts cites the widespread agitation in 1960 by the left wing against President Eisenhower's visit to Japan, and implies that this agitation was caused by Moscow's withdrawal of



At a time when our movement seems to be pulling apart into many different directions WIN seeks to put it all together—to make clear the connections between the women's movement and the ecology movement, to highlight the contradictions between the lawlessness in Washington and the platitudes of even the most "liberal" politicians, to create a basis for understanding between the peace movement and those in the counter-culture actively constructing alternatives to the present system.

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its own invitation to the American President. As Roberts knows, the hatred of the Japanese Left was largely directed against their own Prime Minister, Kishi, who sought to bolster his own image with Ike's visit, which was abruptly canceled because of nationwide anti-Kishi demonstrations which the CIA concluded would place the President's life in jeopardy.

It must be said that *Mitsui* is written with simplicity, economy and wit, and for this the readers of this heavy (more than 560 pages) but beautifully bound book can be thankful. It is a delight to read, and it pays to reread many of the later chapters that deal with the momentous events of the 20th century, especially in Asia, about which one still finds too much humdrum treatment in the standard histories.

A footnote. The reviewer has learned that Mitsui requested one change: the title. Originally the book was called "The Mitsui Empire: Three Centuries of Japanese Business." It seems that Mitsui & Co., one of Japan's mammoth trading firms (whose ancient escutcheon is displayed by permission on the cover and on every chapter heading in the book) took exception to the title as giving a very bad image. Some Mitsui executives got the idea that the title "Mitsui Empire" might be seized upon by muckraking journalists, especially of the left-wing variety, and used to belabor the company. Roberts and the publisher agreed to the title change even though the original title had already been printed in an edition of 15,000 copies.

I think few readers would quarrel with the reason for accepting the title change. The executives of Mitsui & Co. had not seen the contents of the book, either in manuscript or printed form. But it seemed certain that if they read the book, which is a critical appraisal of Mitsui, they would register many objections and possibly take legal action. (It should be stated that Weatherhill is an American publisher but that the book was printed in Japan.) And needless to say, Mitsui has a formidable legal staff and limitless funds for litigation. Thus the idea was that if Mitsui could be forestalled by a change of title alone, a more serious situation could be avoided. And that is what happened. □

JOURNEYS, DESTINATIONS

Wherever your face is, it will
Turn 45 degrees north. At mid-
Night, you will remember me. A
Minor shadow will cross, divide
Your face into thin, unequal
Parts. Shall I remind you that
Love is no longer possible? You
Have missed the plane, the angle
Of intention. All that we own
Is geometry; the triangle. Two
Sides are known, the third con-
Structed from inference, desire.
I have become as movable as paper.

Te amo. Ciao. In some foreign
Languages love is said to exist,
Or the shell of it. Be content
With what you do not have. Good-
Bye. 3,000 miles of water, maps
That purport to show salvageable
Land, unfold in your hand to be
Islands. Stay there. Do not re-
Turn. I am the line, equator
That you crossed to lose a day.

It was a small loss. But you
Will miss it.

Adrianne Marcus

Proportioning Criticism to Art

AESTHETICS AND THE THEORY OF CRITICISM. *By Arnold Isenberg. Edited by William Callaghan, et alia. University of Chicago Press. 322 pp. $12.50.*

NORRIS MERCHANT

The uniqueness of the late Arnold Isenberg lay in his mastery of a zone of intersection of philosophy, criticism and aesthetics. Because of that distinction, Isenberg eludes the confinement to the stricter categories. He may, in fact, have helped to broaden some of them. It is still questionable, for instance, whether criticism, artistic or literary, is properly the function of the liberally cultivated amateur of decided tastes and, often, of commensurably idiosyncratic canons of judgment. Yet Isenberg, without completing the structural groundwork, powerfully suggests the feasibility, at least, of an analytic standard, a "criticism of criticism," that will keep intact its rootedness in a wide and appreciative experience of actual works of art.

He did not disdain the patient examination of particularities in elucidating his methodological aim. In one of these remarkably trenchant essays, that aim involves the minute study of a poem by Robert Frost, an investigation unique enough in kind to be useful, conceivably, to a working poet. Isenberg lacked the reserve of those who impute a sacral inviolability to the completed creation, allowing—once rapturous approval or negation has been transcended—for little insight beyond that derivable from descriptive approximations. But Isenberg undertook such labors with a kind of brotherly fellow feeling. The problem was one of at once assessing *and* assisting the integralness of poetic communication, instead of perhaps irrelevantly expanding the imaginative resources of the art in question. He did not in this instance produce a "prose translation," but probed the consistency and communicative intent already set forth in the poem's metaphors, design and narrative. The result, an undertaking of what one might call the sympathetically poetic reason, registers a sense of artistic conscience—that which, often unobserved by us in the finished work, frequently settles, as Isenberg represents it as having done here, for a fragmented achievement, even in the act of producing, rhythmic and metric elements intact, a good poem. It is not "Frost! How could you?" but perhaps what the poet may have felt: "How can one let it go at *that?*—And yet, perhaps one shall."

Isenberg also carries out the function of a mediator in areas where "professionals" have marked out the terrain, creating boundaries that are likely to be crossed only by the critic as dilettante or as journalist. Isenberg seems to have been neither of these, but a serious technician and an erudite examiner, who felt it no insult to the aesthetic dimension to focus upon it a precise logical interrogation. But he did not often claim to resolve difficult or general questions. One such problem, dealt with in his paper on formalism, is whether an inductive "science" of art—he calls it "the great inductive enterprise"—might ultimately be realizable. Refreshingly, the more so because his own observations are meticulously formulated and scrupulously empirical, he confesses, "My own brain power and training are entirely inadequate to a question of this kind." Here one may suspect exaggeration, but it is the right spirit, considering that Isenberg does successfully thwart the arguments of those who, following Croce, have in principle denied such a possibility, as well as certain philosophers of science who presume it.

In spite of a momentary petulance di-

Norris Merchant has lectured in philosophy at New York University, Hofstra University and Cooper Union.

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rected at Goethe, as an imprecise "amateur" of ideas, Isenberg, in his own more methodical contemporary system of appraisal, has at least approached that domain where, Goethe averred, art and science find a common center. While keeping the door of the future ajar, Isenberg has perhaps disproved more than he has proved about what aesthetics, or criticism, shall become. But he has given a prophylactic example of strict, analytic self-examination; this rigor, it seems, was assimilated as much from pictures, music and poems as from the discipline of aesthetics. Logic is readily adaptable to revelations of the absurd; it can demolish; in the hands of a truant philosophy, it can permit itself an ascetic sneer at the foolish, zealous world. Isenberg himself suffered no disadvantage in bringing the best-honed tools of philosophic discourse to bear upon artistic questions. So employed, for the most part circumspectly and with an evident love for art, in his hands analysis was at once sharply focused and generous in its scope. □

Beyond the Common Cold

THE HEALING FACTOR: "Vitamin C" Against Disease. *By Irwin Stone. Grosset & Dunlap. 258 pp. $6.95. Paper $1.95*

DORIS PLANZ

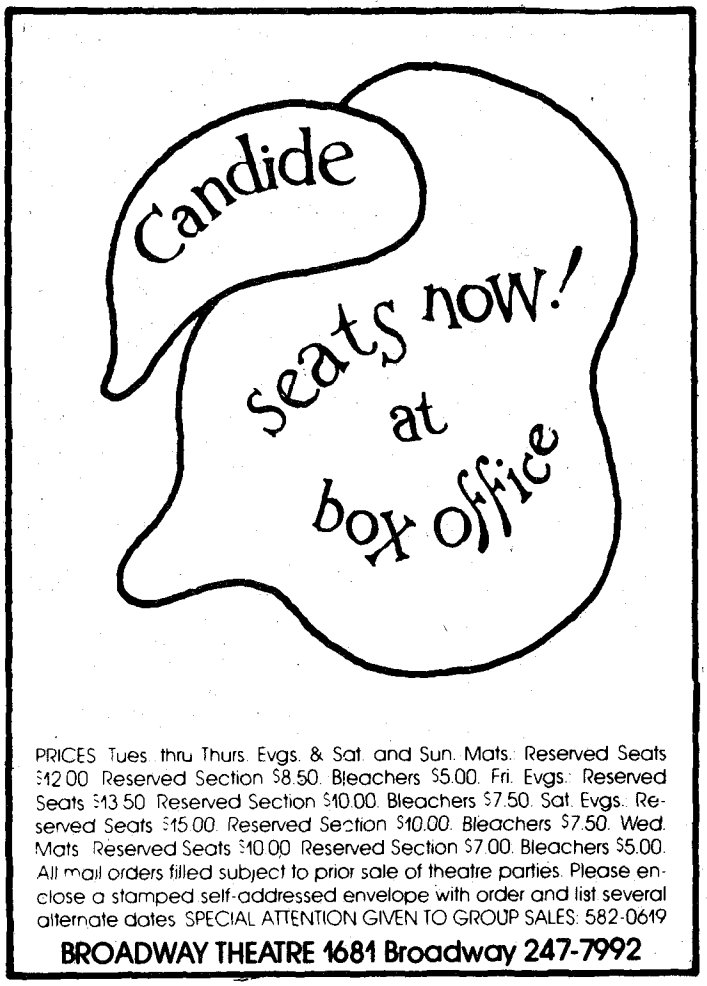
The controversy over vitamin C is far from resolved, yet we may have a new approach, a "sociology of vitamin C." Experts continue to appear on TV panels, each quoting his studies, and most often end in an emotional impasse indistinguishable from anger. People ask, "How much vitamin C should I take?" in place of the earlier, "Should I take it?" However, the medical profession and the Food and Drug Administration are now officially aligned in an offensive against what they term self-medication. The only agreement is that the public should be protected against itself. This may seem incongruous in a country notorious for every other kind of self-medication—for nerves, colds, coughs, arthritis, indigestion, insomnia, hemorrhoids, blemishes, and so on down the list of human frailties. A survey sponsored by the FDA found that three out of four adults (roughly 100 million people) believe that extra vitamins provide more pep and energy. The sociology, then, involves why people believe that to be true, why they continue to believe it in spite of establishment denials—and even which people are involved. Statistically, the one person in four who does *not* believe extra vitamins are helpful is, officially speaking, "normal."

In all fairness, the sociology game should be turned around and directed toward the medical profession, which has demonstrated a resolute resistance to vitamin C for 300 years.

Stone's book tells this story as a fascinating historical prelude to his comprehensive treatise on vitamin C. He gives a rationale for the vitamin's importance, includes a discussion of dozens of clinical studies, and provides an extensive reference section covering a worldwide survey of literature. The book is written for those who do not have a strong background in science, yet its scholarship merits the respect of serious researchers. And where are they? Stone calls for broad, long-range research projects on large population segments as the only real test of his thesis. But since federal agencies are the only ones financially equipped to conduct such studies, and obviously are not about to consider anything of the kind, one must turn to theory and to existing clinical experience.

Stone's theory provides a new orientation to the vitamin from a genetic point of view. He begins with the very origin of life in the so-called "primordial soup," and traces the development of the vitamin from the simple to the complex life forms. Of all plants and animals, it is only man and other primates (except for the guinea pig, and a fruit-eating bat) who cannot produce their own supply of vitamin C and are therefore subject to the deficiency disease that is recognized as scurvy in its advanced clinical form. Now rare in this country and all but forgotten, scurvy provided the medical context for vitamin C requirement through history, and essentially it still does. Ten milligrams, enough to cover the head of a pin, is sufficient to prevent and correct the clinical signs of scurvy, and in so doing vitamin C meets the definition of a vitamin—a food substance, a minute quantity of which is a specific for a deficiency syndrome.

Doris Planz teaches at C.W. Post College, Long Island University, and directs research and clinical field studies in community health.



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Everyone is in agreement to this point. However Stone, as well as many others, believes that avoidance of scurvy even with the extra "recommended daily allowance" set by the Food and Nutrition Board at 70 mg. per day is not the proper approach to health. In addition to suggesting *how* we get scurvy, Stone indicates *why* we are susceptible. Other mammals produce vitamin C (or ascorbic acid) in the kidneys or the liver in amounts consistent with their body needs. Under stress this required amount may increase hundreds of times. Mr. Stone believes that man lost the mechanism necessary for producing ascorbic acid during his evolutionary development. This loss is genetically termed an "inborn error of metabolism," predisposing human beings to develop a disease condition which Stone names "hypoascorbemia." Stone assimilates this condition and its origin to more than a hundred other mutational effects which are well recognized and also related to dietary disturbances. Here is the rationale for the large-dose, "megavitamin" use which is so controversial and yet gaining in popular practice. Stone believes that for full "correction" of hypoascorbemia, one requires large amounts of the vitamin which should be further increased for particular situations such as stress. This is the theory which Dr. Linus Pauling found so convincing and which inspired his book, *Vitamin C and the Common Cold*. (See *The Nation*, April 5, 1971.)

Unfortunately, Dr. Pauling's book has been to some extent misunderstood, and has inadvertently served to switch the focus of vitamin C from being a remedy for scurvy to being a remedy for colds. It should be neither. The limitations of a single disease draw attention away from the complex nature of the intricate biochemical relationships of vitamin C throughout the body.

Dr. Albert Szent-Györgyi, who received the Nobel Prize for his work in synthesizing vitamin C, supports Stone's work in a foreword to the book. He, as well as Pauling and Stone, are convinced of the nontoxic nature of vitamin C. Indeed, more than thirty clinical studies in the book report the use of large doses with no undesirable side effects. The medical literature in general, as well as the popular media, shows a striking absence of reports of ill effects.

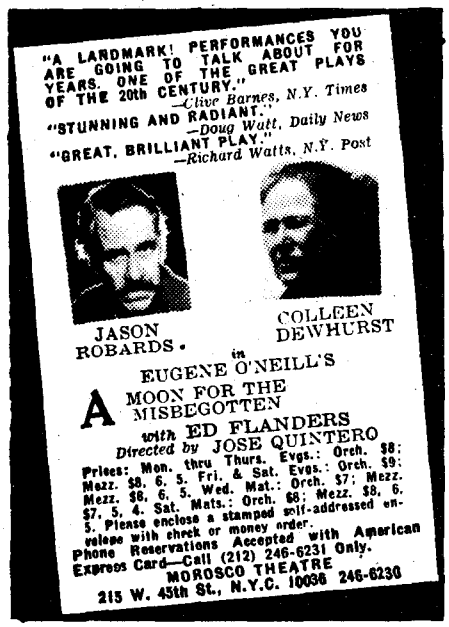
According to Stone, if one is satisfied to avoid scurvy or to avoid a cold, the benefits of larger amounts of vitamin C will never be experienced. Even after forty years of research, the many vital biochemical processes in which the vitamin functions are still not fully understood. However, many of the relationships are evident in the clinical reports discussed in the book. These range from the common cold to other viral and bacterial infections, the cardiovascular system, arthritis, allergies, kidney diseases, diabetes and aging. The nearly incredible extent of vitamin C involvement in such varied pathologies, together with the positive effects of increased endurance reported as a result of megavitamin therapy, not unnaturally breeds suspicion. All of the answers are by no means clear but Stone develops a theory with compelling supporting evidence.

Here, then is the only book of its kind on vitamin C: historical, scientific, theoretical, clinical, documented. It is not necessary to agree with every tenet Stone holds; it is enough to reconsider the evidence, to understand some of the mechanisms involved, to shift the focus away from scurvy and colds and toward health.

Stone's discussion of vitamin C in cancer therapy and prevention is particularly intriguing, wary though one is of yet another "cure" for cancer. The studies reported cover a broad range of possible effect. One proposition is that continued vitamin C deficiency preconditions the body to cancer, based on the lowered resistance of connective tissue. Other reports discuss the value of vitamin C in detoxifying carcinogens, increasing tolerance to the use of X-ray treatment for cancer, or the actual killing of cancer cells by the vitamin. The National Cancer Institute has looked into this feature and is quoted as follows: "The great advantage that ascorbates [vitamin C] . . . possess as potential anticancer agents is that they are, like penicillin, remarkably nontoxic to normal body tissues, and they may be administered to animals in extremely large doses (up to 5 grams or more per kilogram) without notable pharmacological effects." Five grams per kilogram in a 70-kilogram adult would amount to 350 grams of vitamin C per day, or five thousand times the daily recommended dose. An astounding range for any vitamin, but this same low toxicity apparently excluded the vitamin from further cancer investigations, even though test-tube studies showed that cancer cells were in fact killed by it. Even under the newer immunological approach, vitamin C would in theory be useful because of its heavy concentration in white blood cells and its apparent role in the immunological system.

A very serious question remains concerning the future of vitamin C research. Who should decide when and how much vitamin C any of us ought to take? Who is the expert? What should his credentials be? Are vitamins part of the medical domain? In the furor following Dr. Pauling's book a common theme was the fact that he was not a physician. But who is better qualified in biochemical matters than a biochemist? The author of this book is a biochemist, past president of the American Chemical Society, has spent forty years in the field of vitamin C research and published more than sixty papers in professional journals. The question of authority is of vital importance and touches again on the sociology of vitamin C. It is linked to the basis of our health-care system. Nutritionists and nurses take interest in the fact that, until very recently, most medical schools gave only the briefest mention to nutrition. This is understandable in a discipline devoted to pathology. Where, then, is the expertise we need on the subject of vitamin C? Certainly biochemists such as Stone, with his genetic theory of hypoascorbemia, and Pauling with his theory of orthomolecular medicine, lead the field as specialists in vitamin C.

For nearly a quarter of a century, the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, has periodically published Recommended Daily Allowances (RDA), with only minor revisions. Their formulations, as stated in their bulletin, "were *value* judgments based on existing knowledge of nutritional science and subject to revision as new knowledge became available." The allowances are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and their spines, like eels that want
to be caught,
dangle in ecstasy.

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they drift like seeds
aimlessly above the earth.
They are like the clouds that move over the land,
over the cattle and the fruit groves,
to disappear
over the open water of the Gulf.

I see you among them,
strapped to the frame of a kite
that is high above the beach.
Its string dances above my head,
too clever for me to catch,

and I squat on the sand,
my spine
uncoils in the sun.
I look at where the water breaks
and wait for my shadow
to wash up into my arms.

Tom Luhrmann

not meant, as commonly believed, to be individual guidelines but "are intended to serve as goals for planning food supplies and as guides for the interpretation of food consumption records of groups of people." The "person" for whom the 70 mg. daily adult vitamin C allotment is recommended is a young man, age 22, weighing 70 kg. (154 lbs.) and living in a temperate climate. Should one look further at this hypothetical young man, correlating information from medical reports on servicemen in Vietnam, he already shows developing atherosclerosis and coronary disease. Surely, those in the armed forces, not in a temperate climate, and subjected to heavy stress, might benefit from an increased amount of vitamin C, particularly since it is linked to lowered cholesterol levels. Perhaps Stone's mega-doses do not grossly conflict with the RDA.

The Food and Drug Administration is now tightening control of vitamin sales, in supplementary form and in various foods. The regulations seek to protect the consumer against promotional claims which are unfair or deceptive. Products whose dosages are in excess of 150 per cent of the U.S. RDA will continue to be available without prescription but will be sold as drugs and not as dietary supplements. These products will be reviewed *as drugs*, whose status is to be determined by a panel of experts. The agency premise is that in terms of overall diet, the foods generally available today can provide adequate amounts of all nutrients necessary to good health. Some consumer groups disagree and will challenge the regulations in court, alleging that the FDA lacks jurisdiction and that agency hearings failed to establish a threat to safety.

Certainly consumer protection is needed throughout every area of the marketing and promotional practices of the food industry. The claims of good nutrition in cupcakes and sugar drinks "fortified" with vitamins are very doubtful, but these products are apparently not the target of the new controls. Everyone is getting into the act: the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs considers protective measures for the nation's 70 million overweight individuals; the House is gathering support to overturn the new FDA restrictions; the FDA lawyers are mobilizing to protect their authority, which would be affected in other areas as well. The American consumer, meanwhile, has the responsibility for his own nutrition, which will be increasingly difficult to achieve in the face of rising costs. The struggle for power may raise nutrition from its current low status as a science. In the best case, attention will be directed to the generally poor nutrition of a great many Americans. While the struggle goes on, read Stone's book, and decide for yourself if vitamin C is likely to be an important factor in improving our general nutritional level. ☐

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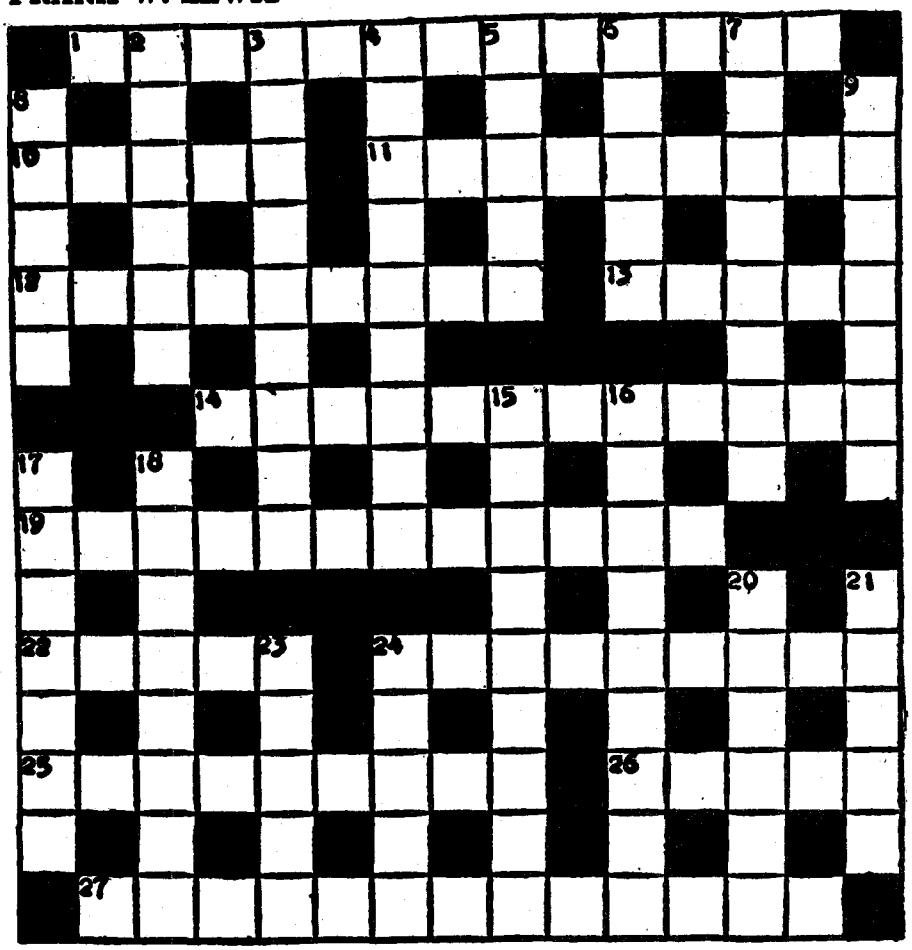
Crossword Puzzle No. 1541

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Reputedly *corrupter? Absolutely!* (8,5)
10 As long as a rule might be getting under way? (5)
11 One wouldn't want to have this with lamb, or game. (9)
12 Ball players? (One has such brass!) (5,4)
13 Painter associated in part with dots. (5)
14 The skill of a parachutist would hardly be needed for it during invasion. (7,5)
19 and 8 down Noted for his plumed headgear, though his reference was not to farinaceous food. (6,6,5)
22 Takes cognizance of what the player reads. (5)
24 In a not-convenient manner, as some kids ride bicycles? (9)
25 Where, unless charges are kept under control, one might be faced with a dilemma. (9)
26 Bothered when the favorite doesn't win? (5)
27 Implying what the nervous nibble on is comparatively tough. (2,4,2,5)

DOWN

2 Gives what might be either the first or last cooking treatment. (6)
3 Declining to be one, when at the possible outcome. (2,3,4)
4 Reproached, possibly for not having one's hair this way. (9)
5 Just the opposite of 10. (5)
6 This war started in 1840. (5)
7 You might find it in the next real problem, but not inside. (8)
8 See 19 across
9 What someone like 13 possibly does, in taking more than one passage. (7)
15 The peony's arrangement is simple for beginners . . . . . (9)
16 . . . . but the marigold could get a dunce all shook up! (9)
17 A reputedly sweet time before long. (2-3-2)
18 Places in the office (or in more beastly accommodations). (8)
20 Possibly a truck with the side turned over, to the Spanish. (6)
21 Those who pedal lose 151 little bags of them. (5)
23 Here's a capital one in the furniture! (5)
24 Given the prod, possibly. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1540

ACROSS: 1 Abraham Lincoln; 9 Cockles; 10 Cabbage; 11 Elapse; 14 Decoder; 15 Casts; 17 Tasks; 19 Agnomen; 21 Duration; 23 Barred; 25 Trussed; 26 Sausage; 27 As sound as a bell. DOWN: 1 Alchemist; 2 and 18 Richard Strauss; 3 Half-socks; 4 Must; 5 Incoherent; 6 Caber; 7 Leagues; 8 Mesh; 13 and 12 A diamond in the rough; 15 Campanula; 16 Speedwell; 20 Narrate; 21 Date; 22 Tasso; 24 Asia.

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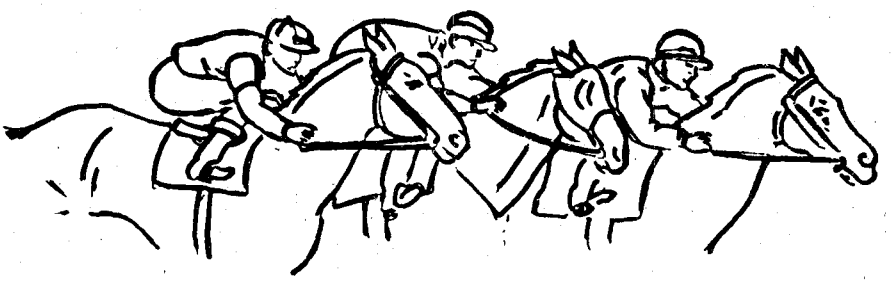

...and the others follow

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CASE NO. 1

May 28, 1973: The NATION runs Joseph C. Goulden's "Warming Up For Watergate" with 1962 as starting point.

Aug. 16, 1973: The VILLAGE VOICE runs "Prelude to Watergate—The Time Frame Was 1962," by Tom de Vries.

CASE NO. 2

Oct. 22, 1973: The NATION subscribers read about "Street People: The New Migrants" by Celeste MacLeod.

Oct. 31, 1973: The SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE features "A New Kind of Skid Row" by Marshall Kilduff.

CASE NO. 3

Mar. 12, 1973: The NATION publishes a serious analysis of a growing trend, "Dinner Theatres" by Jerome Landfield.

Nov. 11, 1973: The WASHINGTON STAR-NEWS discovers dinner theatres in a piece by Nicholas Howey, "Whither Chowbiz?"

CASE NO. 4

Mar. 16, 1974: The NATION spotlights "Hawaii Without the Pineapple" by Mary Alice Kellogg.

Apr. 11, 1974: The WALL ST. JOURNAL's staff reporter, Herbert G. Lawson, covers the same story "End of an Era; The Pineapple Industry in Hawaii Sours"

CASE NO. 5

Feb. 19, 1973: The NATION prints John Grady's blast, "Administrative Discharges: The 'Less Than Honorable' Solution."

July 8, 1973: Washington's THE SUNDAY STAR and DAILY NEWS runs "Rethinking the 'Bad Discharge' System," by Raymond P. Boulanger.

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